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MEMOIR

OF

COL. ETHAN ALLEN;

CONTAINING THE MOST INTERESTING INCIDENTS CONNECTED WITH HIS PRIVATE AND PUBLIC CAREER.

BY HUGH MOORE.

PLATTSBURGH, N. Y.
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F. P. ALLEN, PR.—PLATTSBURGH.

INTRODUCTION.

The human mind is ever eager in the pursuit of knowledge—ever awake to the incidents of life, as they spring into existence from the actions of mankind: and, perhaps, nothing is more deeply interesting, than the impressions given us by the "deeds of noble daring," achieved by those brave and patriotic men who breasted the current of oppression, in the days of trial, and periled their "lives, their fortunes and their sacred honors" in defence of their country's liberties. It is well, then, to transmit to posterity, as an inheritance worthy of preservation, the lessons our fathers have taught us, and the benefits they have conferred upon mankind.—Earth contains no brighter treasure, than the unsullied lustre of patriotism—and a country, like our own, can boast no dearer feeling than the veneration she may entertain for the valour and bravery of her sons.

The American Revolution called forth the latent energies of many individuals, who would, in a more peaceable state of political affairs, have slumbered in obscurity, and gone down to the grave unhonored and unknown. The very nature of the policy of Great Britain towards this country—a policy every way tyrannical and oppressive—was calculated to call into action the efforts of every friend of liberty. It was an attempt to strip us of our rights, and manacle us with the fetters of slavery—an envenomed thrust of the adder towards the breast of the innocent and the weak. But, thanks to the spirit which prevailed among our fathers—thanks to the patriotism which then warmed the hearts of the people—the mercenaries of a foreign power were unequal to the task of accomplishing the designs of their masters. Our population rallied to the calls of the brave and wise men of our country, imbued with a spirit worthy the little band which defended the Pass of Thermopylæ. They fought and they conquered; and their declining years were cheered with the knowledge that the country for which they had

struggled so long and fearfully, was prosperous and happy, and that their deeds were fondly remembered.

Perhaps no individual, of equal advantages, and the station he occupied in life, contributed more towards establishing the independence of our country, than ETHAN ALLEN, the subject of this memoir. The mass of the people among whom he resided, were rude and uncultivated; yet bold in spirit and zealous in action. It, consequently, followed, that no one, save a man of strong natural endowments—of much decision, energy and bravery, could control their prejudices and inclinations. Habit had rendered them familiar with danger, and impatient of restraint: hence, it followed, that no policy, unless proceeding from a source in which they had confidence, ever gained their approbation. Upon ALLEN, whose courage was undoubted, and whose zealous devotion to their interests was universally acknowledged, they implicitly relied. They had known him in adversity and prosperity—they had weighed him, and found nothing lacking. To friend or foe, he was ever the same unyield-

ing advocate of the rights of man, and universal liberty. The policy, therefore, he upheld, as beneficial to the common cause of American liberty, ever found strong and efficient supporters in the friends with whom he associated, and by whom he was known.

From the commencement of our Revolutionary struggle, until its final close, Ethan Allen proved a zealous and strenuous supporter of the cause. Whether in the field or the council—whether at home, a freeman among the mountains of Vermont, or loaded with the manacles of despotism, in a foreign country, his spirit never quailed beneath the sneer of the tory or the harsh threats of insolent authority. A stranger to fear, his opinions were ever given without disguise or hesitation: and, an enemy to oppression, he sought every opportunity to redress the wrongs of the oppressed. It is not to be supposed, however, that he was faultless: Like other men, he had his errors—like other men, his foibles: Yet he was not wilfully stubborn in either. When convinced of an erroneous position, he was ever willing to yield a victory: but, in theory, as in prac-

tice, he contested every inch of ground; and only yielded when he had no weapons left to meet his antagonist. This trait in his character serves, at least, to prove, that he was honest in his conclusions, however erroneous the premises from which they were deducted.

Much error of opinion prevails among all classes of individuals, in relation to the character of Col. ALLEN, at the present period.—He is generally viewed as a coarse, ignorant man, void of all the social feelings, and arrogant in all his pretensions. Even Mr. DWIGHT in his "Travels in New-England," reports him in this light; and deems him only worthy a brief and unjust notice in his work. In what manner Mr. DWIGHT came in possession of the facts upon which he predicated his conclusions, is beyond the knowledge of the author of this Memoir: but, certain it is, he has materially misrepresented the moral principles, and, in fact, the general character of Col. ALLEN. It is presumed, however, that Mr. DWIGHT, like many other travellers, drew his inferences from the gossip of the people among whom he associated, without being at the trouble of extending his enqui-

ries to a source from whence he might have derived every material fact in relation to the subject. In making this suggestion, the author would not be understood as attaching any particular blame to Mr. DWIGHT: but merely as correcting an *error of opinion* which is quite too prevalent in our country.

The author much regrets the absence of many important facts, which, could he have obtained them, would have given additional interest to the work: He has the satisfaction, however, of knowing, that many interesting particulars are furnished which have never before appeared in print. The reader will, also, find a correct history of the *Controversy between the States of New-York and Vermont*, in which Col. ALLEN bore a conspicuous part, together with a number of *Original Letters*, obtained from the Secretary's Office of the State of New-York. For a large proportion of the facts in the Memoir, the author is indebted to the *Vermont State Papers*, *Thompson's History of Vermont*, and to "*A Narrative of Col. Ethan Allen's Captivity*," written by himself, and published at Walpole, N. H., in the year 1807—the details of which he has avail-

ed himself of, so far as was compatible with the design of the present work. He is, also, indebted to the kindness of several individuals, in Vermont, who have assisted him in collecting many important incidents connected with the public and private life of Col. ALLEN. In some few instances, perhaps, he has fallen into slight errors in regard to the data of the different events in which Col. ALLEN was concerned: and, perhaps, a few unimportant statements may be partially erroneous: In the aggregate, however, they will be found well authenticated, and worthy of reliance.

As the author is urged, in this undertaking, almost wholly by a desire to rescue many important historical events from oblivion, and to perpetuate the services rendered our common country, by an individual who now sleeps in the tomb, he trusts his labours will prove a welcome offering to his fellow-citizens.

HUGH MOORE.

PLATTSBURGH, N. Y., DEC. 9, 1833.

MEMOIR.

JOSEPH ALLEN, the father of ETHAN, was a native of Coventry, Connecticut, and resided in Litchfield, where ETHAN was born, in the year 1739. The family consisted of eight children: Ethan, Heman, Lydia, Heber, Levi, Lucy, Zimri, and Ira. Ethan was twice married: His first wife died at Sunderland, Vt.; and his second (the wife of Dr. Penniman, of Colchester,) is still living. Joseph Allen, was a sober, industrious farmer, in moderate circumstances, and of good character. Of his peculiarities, little or nothing is known at the present time. And, in fact, but few incidents, connected with the early life of ETHAN, are extant. We are apprised, however, that his education, like that of a great majority of the people of that period, was quite limited —owing to the fact, that very few schools were then in operation. The necessity, therefore, of a thorough education, was but little understood by the primitive settlers of the country, who gave more attention to the common labors of life, than to the spread of scientific information. Notwithstanding these difficulties, however, a vast fund of useful

knowledge was treasured up by many individuals; and by none was the subject more devotedly attended to, than by young ALLEN. Ambitious to prove himself worthy of notice, and of that attention which superior intellect ever commands, he diligently explored every path leading to important points, and minutely criticised every subject which came beneath his notice. A warm attachment to liberty, and to the natural rights of mankind, was a prominent characteristic of his youth; and, when arrived to the age of manhood, he no longer forbore to express himself freely and boldly in relation to the oppressive policy of Great Britain towards the people of the American Colonies. "Ever since I arrived to a state of manhood," he observes in the Narrative of his Captivity, "and acquainted myself with the general history of mankind, I have felt a sincere passion for liberty. The history of nations, doomed to perpetual slavery, in consequence of yielding up to tyrants their natural-born liberties, I read with a sort of philosophical horror." To such sentiments as the foregoing, is to be attributed the zeal with which he sought, on every occasion, to instil, into the minds of his associates, an aversion for the political power by which the Colonies were controlled, and the people held in thraldom. Convinced that man was designed, by nature, to be the umpire of his own actions, and that he was fitted to act for

himself in matters connected with the measures of the country in which he lived, he entertained, as he uniquely observes, a "philosophical horror" of every species of tyranny and oppression. It is not singular, therefore, that the friends of the American Revolution found, in him, an efficient leader, ready for any emergency and any danger; and that, wherever any evils existed, weighing upon the interests of the community in which he lived, he was ever the first to apply the language of persuasion, or the rod of correction.

We hear little of Col. ALLEN, until we find him a resident in the New-Hampshire Grants —now the State of Vermont. At the period of his removal to this State, a controversy was pending between the settlers, and the authority of New-York, in relation to the validity of the original titles of their lands, and other matters connected with their rights and property. The first settlements were made under grants from the Provincial Government of Massachusetts; but, by a recommendation of King George II., in the year 1740, the territory was placed under the jurisdiction of New-Hampshire. A correspondence, however, was opened between the Governors of New-Hampshire and New-York, in which the latter claimed exclusive jurisdiction over the territory. Notwithstanding this claim, the former proceeded to make further grants; and, by advice of his Council, in the year 1760,

ordered a survey of Connecticut River for sixty miles. The applications for lands being numerous, other surveys rapidly followed; and during the year 1761, about sixty townships were granted. In return for these grants, the Governor was liberally paid by the settlers, receiving, besides the fees allowed by law, a reservation of five hundred acres, in each township, for himself. This state of affairs excited the jealousies of the government of New-York—who determined, if possible, to check the operations of the Governor of New-Hampshire. In view of this result, the Lieutenant-Governor of New-York, issued a proclamation, in which he referred to the grants made by Charles II. to the Duke of York, in 1664, which embraced "all the lands from the West side of Connecticut River, on the East side of Delaware Bay." Relying upon this title, to the territory, he ordered the Sheriff of Albany to return the names of every person occupying lands on the West side of Connecticut River, under the New-Hampshire titles. In answer to this Proclamation, the Governor of New-Hampshire issued a counter one, in which the grant to the Duke of York was declared obsolete. The settlers were exhorted to be diligent and industrious; and not to fear the threats of the New-York authority. In this state of things, application was made, by New-York, directly to the Crown, for a confirmation of

her claims; and, in consequence of this application, the King ordered that the "Western bank of the Connecticut River, from where it enters the Province of Massachusetts Bay, as far North as the 45th degree of North latitude, be the boundary line between the said provinces of New-Hampshire and Vermont." This decision surprised and disconcerted the settlers on the grants, yet it produced no serious alarm. It was merely regarded as extending the jurisdiction of New-York over the territory, without affecting, in any manner, their title to the lands upon which they had settled—having paid for them, and obtained deeds of the same under the Crown. The Governor of New-Hampshire, at first, remonstrated against the decision of the King, in relation to extending the jurisdiction of New-York: but finally submitted to the change, and issued a Proclamation to that effect.

The government of New-York, immediately after the decision of the Crown, proceeded to extend its jurisdiction over the New-Hampshire Grants: dividing the territory into four Counties, and establishing Courts of Justice in each.* The settlers were imperatively commanded to surrender their charters and re-purchase their lands under grants from New-York. A few com-

* Allen's History of Vermont.

plied with this order; but a large majority peremptorily refused. The lands of those who non-complied, were granted to others; in whose names, writs of ejectment were issued, and judgments obtained in the New-York Courts. A determined resistance was made, by the settlers, against these unjust and arbitrary measures: and, for the purpose of rendering this resistance more effectual, a number of associations of the people were formed, and a Convention finally called, composed of Representatives from the different towns on the West side of the Mountain. After much deliberation, the Convention appointed Samuel Robinson, an Agent, to represent to the King, the grievances suffered by the settlers, and to obtain a confirmation of the New-Hampshire grants.* The report of the Agent was favorably received by the King: "His Majesty was pleased, with the advice of his Private Council, to approve thereof, and doth hereby strictly charge, require and command, that the Governor or Commander-in-Chief, of his Majesty's Province of New-York, for the time being, do not, upon his Majesty's highest displeasure, presume to make any grant, whatsoever, of any part of the lands described in the said report, until his Majesty's further pleasure shall be known, concerning the

*Williams' History.

same." This explicit prohibition of the King, however, was of little or no avail: The government of New-York continued to make grants, and writs of ejectment were issued as formerly. Thus compelled to resort to more effective measures than mere argument, the people assembled in Convention, at Bennington, and "Resolved to support their rights and property under the New-Hampshire grants, against the usurpation and unjust claims of the Governor and Council of New-York, BY FORCE, as law and justice were denied them."*

The adoption of this resolution was followed by a resolute and spirited resistance to the Civil Officers of New-York: Many of them were seized by the people, and severely chastised with "*twigs* of the *wilderness*."—"A military association was, also, formed, of which ETHAN ALLEN was appointed Colonel Commandant, and SETH WARNER, REMEMBER BAKER, ROBERT COCHRAN, GIDEON WARNER, and others, appointed Captains.—Committees of safety were, likewise, appointed in several towns West of the Green Mountains.†

On the other side of the question, the authorities of New-York directed the Sheriff of Albany to raise the *posse comitatus*, to assist in the execution of his office; and a "Proc-

*Allen's History. †Allen's History.

lation was issued, by the Governor of New-York, offering a reward of one hundred and fifty pounds for the apprehension of Ethan Allen, and fifty pounds each, for the apprehension of Seth Warner, and five others.—Allen, and the other proscribed persons, in their turn, issued a Proclamation, offering five pounds for apprehending, and delivering to any officer of the Green Mountain Boys, the Attorney General of the Colony of New-York."*

At this crisis of the controversy, the Governor of New-York addressed a communication to "the Rev. Mr. Dewey, and the inhabitants of Bennington, and the adjacent country, on the East side of Hudson's River," in which he unequivocally pointed out what he termed the "illegal acts" committed by the settlers against the authority of New-York. He, also, extended an invitation to Mr. Dewey to lay before the government the causes of the proceedings. "That there may be no obstruction," observes the Governor, "to your laying before me, in Council, as soon as possible, a fair representation of your conduct, I do hereby engage full security and protection to any persons whom you shall choose to send on this business, to New-York, from the time they leave their homes to the time of their return, except Robert Cochran,

* Allen's History.

as also ALLEN, Baker and Sevil, mentioned in my Proclamation of the 9th of December last, and Seth Warner, whose audacious behaviour to a Civil Magistrate, has subjected him to the penalties of the laws of his country." To this communication, a firm and respectful answer was returned, detailing the oppressions under which the settlers suffered, and beseeching his Excellency to be friendly disposed towards them, and lend his assistance to quiet them in their possessions, until his Majesty, in his royal wisdom, should be graciously pleased to settle the controversy. And, in addition to this, the following *special* communication was made to the Governor, at the same time:

"Bennington, June 5th, 1772.

To His Excellency, WILLIAM TRYON, *Esq. &c.*

May it please your Excellency,—We, his Majesty's loyal subjects, whose names are to this piece affixed, inhabitants on that tract of land, your Excellency describes by the name of *Bennington*, and the adjacent country, &c. and who was, by your Excellency's letter of the 19th of May last, prohibited the privilege of going to *New-York*, and personally vindicate either ourselves or country, before your Excellency, and being put to the extremity of informing your Excellency by writing, the reason of our discontent, and also of our behaviour, which we shall more

largely set forth, than is in the foregoing general answer to your Excellency's letter; and also exhibit more arguments deduced from reason and the nature of things; we hope your Excellency will be graciously pleased to view this our defence with that tenderness and candor, a gentleman in so elevated a station should do, and, therefore, beg leave to observe, that, as, on the one hand, no consideration whatever, shall induce us to remit, in the least, of our loyalty and gratitude to our most gracious Sovereign, nor of a reasonable submission to your Excellency; so on the other hand, no tyrannical exertions of the powers of the government, can deter us from asserting and vindicating our undoubted rights and privileges as Englishmen. We expected an answer from your Excellency, to our humble petition to you delivered, soon after your Excellency's accession to the administration of the government; but for reasons to us unknown, your Excellency passed it by in silence. However, we cheerfully embrace this opportunity of laying before your Excellency in Council, the true state of our controversy, which, we can no otherwise do, but by absorbing our personal distinction into the community, and general cause, to which we have obtained the character of faithful. We assure your Excellency that we assent to your authority of jurisdiction, in as much as his Majesty's Proclamation assures us, it is

his will and pleasure, we be under the jurisdiction of *New-York;* and not only now assent to it, but have ever done the same, except in instances where such perverse use has been made thereof, as would dispossess us of our property and country. We are truly desirous, and petitioning his Majesty to reannex us to the Province of *New-Hampshire.* But this is not the ground of our discontent, or at least, is far from being the principal ground of it, though it was done *ex parte*, and we apprehend there were more or less wrong representations made to his Majesty, to obtain the jurisdiction. However, it is the unreasonable and unconstitutional exercise of it, that is the present bone of contention—our properties are all at stake; this we contend for, as the following known facts will demonstrate. A certain number of designing men in *New-York* (and elsewhere) procured patents under the great seal of that Province, and those grantees, being non-residents, brought writs of ejectment againt the *New-Hampshire* settlers on the same land, covered by both patents, as aforesaid, and obtained judgment against them, and proceeded further and took out writs of possession, and actually dispossessed several of them by order of Law, of their houses and farms, leaving them to suffer the inclemency of the weather, bereaved of all the necessaries of life, their new masters having monopolized

their earthly ALL, to themselves. These indigent families having, in the first place, expended their several fortunes, in bringing their farms out of a wilderness state, into that of fruitful fields, gardens and orchards; the whole country, consisting of more than fifteen hundred families, was greatly alarmed at the event which had already began to take place, and in the greatest consternation; each individual, from these instances, reading their own intolerable and universal destruction.—Still the writs of ejectment came thicker and faster, and universal slavery, poverty and horror, emblematically appeared in every countenance.

Thus, things having come to this pass, the oppression was too great for human nature, under English Constitution, to grope under, for those unparalleled instances struck an infinitely more terrible idea, than that of the exertion of the Powers of Government.

Laws and society compacts were made to protect and secure the subjects, in their peaceable possessions and properties, and not to subvert them. No person or community of persons can be supposed to be under any particular compact or Law, except it pre-supposeth, that that Law will protect such person or community of persons in his or their properties; for otherwise, the subject would, by Law, be bound to be accessory to his own ruin and destruction, which is

inconsistent with the Law of self preservation; but this Law being natural as well as eternal, can never be abrogated by the Law of men.

We would acquaint your Excellency, that since our misfortune of being annexed to the Province of *New-York*, Law has been rather used as a tool (than a rule of equity) to cheat us out of the country, we have made vastly valuable by labour and expense of our fortunes. We conclude, these things are yet unknown, or in a great measure so, to your Excellency, as your Excellency's commencement of the administration, hath not been long, and a set of artful, wicked men, concealing the truth from your Excellency, purposing to make a booty of us, characterizing us, (speaking of our inhabitants in general) as so many rioters, if not rebels; and we being a poor people, at a great distance from your Excellency's place of residence, fatigued in settling a wilderness country, have little or no opportunity of acquainting your Excellency of our grievances, except by one short petition delivered to your Excellency, soon after your first taking the administration—and as our cause is represented before his Majesty and Council, we did not expect your Excellency to determine the controversy, nor do we yet expect it. We are sensible, those men that seek our ruin, thereby, to enrich themselves, do, by stratagems of every kind,

represent us to your Excellency as breakers of the peace, and enemies to the government; and under this pretence, they hope to catch a number of the boldest of our inhabitants, and punish them in the *New-York* Inquisition, with that severity that the residue may be frightened out of both liberty and property; for otherwise, they would soon be indicted rioters, and thus, under colour of punishing rioters, and a zeal of loyalty and veneration for good government, rob the inhabitants of their country. If we do not oppose the Sheriff and his Posse, he takes immediate possession of our houses and farms; if we do, we are immediately indicted rioters; and when others oppose officers, in taking such, their friends, so indicted, they are also indicted, and so on, there being no end of indictment against us, so long as we act the bold and manly part, and stand by our liberty.

This is a short sketch of the disingenuous cunning of Messieurs *Duane* and *Kemp*, and their associates; and it comes to this, at last, that we must tamely be dispossessed, or oppose officers in taking possession; and as a next necessary step, oppose taking of rioters, so called, or run away like so many cowards, and quit our country to a number of cringing, polite gentlemen, who have, ideally, possessed themselves of it already.

As to sundry men, who have eloped lately from our grants, and fled to *New-York* for

protection, self preservation necessitated us to treat some of them roughly; and others, viz: *Ebenezer Cowl*, and *Jonathan Wheat*, of *Shaftsbury*, fled to *New-York*, on account of their own guilt, not being hurt or threatened. Would time permit, we could give a rational account for most, or all of our late conduct towards these men. The general reason is this, namely, they were a set of men that loved themselves, and not their country; they busied themselves in planning and assisting to take rioters, so called. In fine, they were the emissaries of that mercenary core of Yorkers, and did more, in oppressing the people, than their preposterous benefactors.

The assault, made upon Mr. *Baker*, at day break, of the night of the 22d of March last, by a number of ruffians, under the command of the infamous *John Munro*, Esq. was a notorious riot, and gave energy and motion, to the subsequent acts, your Excellency denominates illegal. This *Munro*, and his bloody party, by cutting, wounding and maiming, Mr. *Baker*, his wife and children, in such an inhuman and savage manner, was no less than proclaiming himself, in a public manner, to be a malicious and bloody enemy, not only to Mr. *Baker*, but also to all those men, on our grants, who, manfully, adhere to maintaining liberty and property; and inasmuch as the murderous villain is alive, he has no cause of complaint—for, after his assault up-

on Mr. *Baker*, he made another assault upon Mr. *Seth Warner;* but not having so strong a party of ruffians with him, as in his other expedition, it was not attended with the like consequences, for Mr. *Warner* struck his head with a dull cutlass, and levelled him to the ground; but the blow proved not mortal; and after this, for his satisfaction for the wound, threatened the lives of a number of the *New Hampshire* settlers.—Your Excellency will, undoubtedly, consider, as our opponents have had the manufactory of the civil laws, so much under their power, that this merciless man could not be brought to justice, nor could others among us, be safe any other way, but by using him in his own play; he set the example and enraged the people to mimick him from that natural principle in every man's own breast.

As to the perfidious and treacherous *Bliss Willoghby*, he always pretended to be a friend of the said *Baker's*, and *Baker* had ever been truly a friend of his—this hypocrite, two days before *Baker* was taken, made a frivolous excuse of business, went to said *Baker's* house, viewed the strength of it, perceived *Baker* was somewhat careless and secure, and made report to the said *Munro*. In fine, *Willoghby* was the planner and instigator of that savage cruelty, exercised to said *Baker*, which was perpetrated and brought into action by the detestable said *Munro*. But to

desist: as to the history of our late transactions, whether they be all right or not, we, on our part, have a few arguments and considerations more to lay before your Excellency, as to the cause of our discontent, as well as to the cause of our late actions your Excellency denominates illegal.

The alteration of jurisdiction, in 1764, could not effect private property. Surely his Majesty by this alteration, did not purpose to take away the personal property of a large number of his loyal subjects, and transfer it to other subjects; the English Constitutions will, by no means, admit of this, for the transferring or alienation of property is a sacred prerogative of the true owner.—Kings and Governors cannot intermeddle therewith. Furthermore, your Excellency and Council must needs be acquainted that we have a petition lying before his Majesty and Council, for redress of grievances. That is an impartial board; pray why may it not be determined here? For the very identical matters in dispute, are now, and for several years past have been lying before that Court, except the accusations of riotousness, disorderly, &c. which is improved as a handle to subvert property, and that only.

Furthermore in the time of Sir Henry Moor's administration, his Majesty was pleased to lay the government of *New-York*, un-

der absolute prohibition not to grant or patent any of the lands antecedently granted under the great seal of the province of *New-Hampshire;* and furthermore forbid the government to disturb or molest the settlers.—This rightly understood, amounts to a supercedeas over the authority of common Law, and absolutely controuls the cognizance thereof. As to the particular matters in the prohibition set forth, or matters lying before his Majesty by petition, the import of the prohibition must needs be thus, namely: that his Majesty by it informs the government of *New-York*, that he has taken the controversy, to him made known by petition, under his royal consideration, and that, after due information and evidence of the state of the case, determines to settle the controversy; consequently forbids the government taking cognizance thereof; and common sense teaches us that under such prohibition, if a judgment at common law be supposed to be valid, it would invalidate the authority of the crown, and subvert and overthrow the authority of the kingdom, as it would render the prohibitions of the crown perfectly impertinent. Therefore, common law in the case before us, is not clothed with cognizance of this case, much less with authority to dispossess us; consequently, every party of men, that have, with of-

ficers, or otherwise, come into these parts to dispossess us, came in open defiance, and direct opposition to his Majesty's orders and authority; and though they style us rioters, for opposing them, and seek to catch and punish us as such; yet, in reality, themselves are the rioters, the tumultuous, disorderly, stimulating faction, or, in fine, the land-robbers; and every violent act they have done to compass their designs, though ever so much under pretence of law, is, in reality, a violation of law, and an insult on the constitution, and authority of the crown, as well as to many of us, in person, who have been great sufferers by such inhuman exertions of pretended legality of law.—Right and wrong are eternally the same, to all periods of time, places and nations; and colouring a crime with a specious pretence of law, only adds to the criminality of it; for, it subverts the very design of law, prostituting it to the vilest purposes. Can any man in the exercise of reason, make himself believe that a number of Attorneys and other gentlemen, with all their tackle of ornaments, and compliments, and French finesse, together with their boasted legality of law; that these gentlemen have just right to the lands, labours and fortunes of the *New-Hampshire* settlers? Certainly they cannot. Yet, this is the object in view, by this mercenary fraternity.

We do not suppose, may it please your Excellency, we are making opposition to a government, as such ; it is nothing more than a party, chiefly carried on by a number of gentlemen attorneys, (if it be not an abuse to gentlemen of merit to call them so,) who manifest a surprising and enterprising thirst of avarice, after our country : but, for a collection of such intriguers, to plan matters of influence of a party, so as eventually to become judges in their own case, and, thereby, cheat us out of our country, appears to us so audaciously unreasonable and tyrannical, that we view it with the utmost detestation and indignation, and our breasts glow with a martial fury to defend our persons and fortunes from the ravages of those that would destroy us ; but not against your Excellency's person or government.

We are fully persuaded, your Excellency's ears have been much abused by subtle and designing men; for, we are informed, from credible authority, your Excellency has, lately, made application to your Assembly, to raise an armed force to subdue us, but that the motion was negatived. We apprehend your Excellency views us as opposing your Excellency's jurisdiction, and that the violent acts, by us done, was in rebellion to his Majesty's authority, or your Excellency had never proposed the subduing of us; we are mor-

ally certain, we can convince your Excellency, that it is not so; but that on the other hand, Messieurs *Duane*, *Kemp*, and their associates, are the aggressors.

We have chosen two men from among us, viz: Capt. *Stephen Fay*, and Mr. *Jonas Fay*, to treat with your Excellency, in person; who, we hope, will answer such queries, and give your Excellency the satisfaction you hope for.

We view your Excellency as our Governor and political father, and hope. and expect, from the sincerity and candor of your Excellency's letter, you will be friendly and favourably disposed towards us, when your Excellency, by these lines, perceives the grounds of our discontent; for, we are conscious that our cause is good, and that it was oppression which has been the ground of our discontent, and that self preservation hath, hitherto, urged us to the measure lately taken.— And we now earnestly intreat your Excellency's aid and assistance to quiet us in our possessions and properties, till his Majesty, in his royal wisdom, settle the controversy. If your Excellency should do this, there would be an end to riots, so called, and our tongues unable to express our gratitude to your Excellency for such protection.

Therefore, relying on your Excellency's great wisdom and goodness, as members of your Government, his Majesty's loyal and

liege subjects, we subscribe ourselves your Excellency's ever faithful and humble servants,

ETHAN ALLEN,
SETH WARNER,
REMEMBER BAKER,
ROBERT COCHRAN.

Upon the receipt of the foregoing communications, Governor Tryon immediately laid them before his Council, who advised that his Excellency should afford the inhabitants of those townships all the relief in his power, by suspending, until the pleasure of the King should be known, all prosecutions in behalf of the crown, on account of the crimes alleged against them; and recommend to the owners of the contested lands, under grants from the Province of New-York, to stay all civil suits, in relation to the lands, during the same period. This advice met the approbation of the Governor, who communicated it to the inhabitants of Bennington and the vicinity.

During the pendency of this negociation, the Green Mountain Boys, urged on by the numerous wrongs under which they suffered by the policy of New-York, proceeded to dispossess a number of settlers on Otter Creek, who held their lands under titles from New-York. This aggression led Gov. Tryon to address a letter to the inhabitants of Bennington and the country adjacent, in which he expressed his "high displeasure at the

breach of faith and honor" of a portion of the inhabitants, in dispossessing the settlers on Otter Creek and its neighborhood, of their possessions: and required the assistance of the people "in putting, forthwith, those families, who have been thus dispossessed, into re-possession of their lands and tenements."

To this letter, the following was addressed to the Governor in reply:

"Bennington, Aug. 25, 1772.

To His Excellency, WILLIAM TRYON, *Esq. &c.*

May it please your Excellency,—We, his Majesty's liege and loyal subjects, inhabitants of *Bennington*, and the adjacent country, have received your Excellency's letter, of the 11th of August inst. by which, we are informed of your Excellency's high displeasure towards us, by reason of a body of our people's dispossessing several settlers on *Otter Creek*, and its neighbourhood, of their possessions, during the very time our Messengers attended on your Excellency, at *New-York*, and were waiting the determination of government, on our petition, that we might remain unmolested in our possessions, till the King's pleasure could be obtained. Your Excellency further informs us, that you look on our late proceedings with great concern, viewing them as daring insults to government, a violation of public faith, and the conditions granted to our petition. We would, with proper sub-

mission, give your Excellency and Council, a short narrative of facts, with a few reflections and reasons thereon.—And,

First, we would observe, that our Messengers your Excellency styles Commissioners, were not authorized to establish, and complete articles of public faith for their constituents. The business assigned them, was to deliver the written petition, and inform your Excellency and Council of the facts of the controversy subsisting, and further negociate and forward the matter of our petition, and return to us the determination of government, reserving to ourselves the power of assenting to, or dissenting therefrom; though true it is, when the articles of amicable settlement, or order of government was read at a public meeting held at *Bennington*, on the 15th day of July ult. the said order and proposals were universally complied with by those present: from which time, we, reasonably, compute the date of public faith, and sacred bond of friendship. But in the interim the conditions of faith were forming, and before a ratification thereof, Mr. *Kockburn*, a noted surveyor, unknown, (as we suppose,) to your Excellency and Council, by the contrivance, aid and employ of certain monopolizing adversaries of our's, took a tour to the northerly parts of the *New Hampshire* grants, to survey, and make locations on our land. Such locating we view as a manifest plan,

and intention of invading our property—the same as intrenching round a city, portends a siege thereof.

Our people, having notice of Mr. *Kockburn's* intrusion on our borders, rallied a small party, and pursued, and overtook him and his party; and in their pursuit, passed the towns of *Panton* and *New Haven*, near the mouth of *Otter Creek;* dispossessed Col. *Reed* of a saw mill, in said *Panton*, which, by force, and without colour, or even pretence of recourse to law, he had taken from the original owners and builders, more than three years before, and did, at that same time extend his force, terrors and threats into the town of *New Haven;* who, by the vicious and haughty aid of Mr. *Benzell*, the famed Engineer, with a number of assistants under their command, so terrified the inhabitants, (which were about twelve in number,) that they left their possessions and farms to the conquerors, and escaped with the skin of their teeth, although they had expended large sums of money in cutting roads to, and settling in, that new country, as well as fatigued and laboured hard in cultivating their farms. Col. *Reed*, at the same time, and with the same force, did take possession of one hundred and thirty saw logs, and fourteen thousand feet of pine boards, which boards were made in the same mill, and all lying thereby; all which he converted to his own use. Not

long after, the original proprietors of the said saw mill did re-enter, and take possession thereof, but was, a second time, attacked by Col. *Reed's* steward, with a number of armed men, under his (supposed) instructions, and by their superior force and threats, obliged to quit the premises again—all which tenements, said *Reed* occupied and enjoyed until dispossessed, as your Excellency's letter complains of.

But to return to *Kockburn* again. Our party, having taken him as aforesaid, brought him to the town of *Castleton*, near *South Bay*, where, being first informed of your Excellency's clemency, as well as that of the honorable Council, in granting the prayer of our petition; and in conformity to the articles of settlement agreed on, dismissed him on honorable terms.

This is a short narrative of facts, for the proof of which, sufficient affidavits can be educed.

We are apprehensive, your Excellency has been, hitherto, unacquainted with these facts, and have, therefore, exhibited them in this letter; although it appears strange to us, according as your Excellency's own letter states the matter, that we should be suspected or taxed with violation of public faith, and that our disingenuous and dishonourable violation thereof, hath nullified and made void the late amicable settlement; for, at the same

time your Excellency charges us with breach of faith and settlement, the very preliminaries of this faith were not known on our part, and consequently could not have been complied with; the very stipulations and faith spoken of did not then exist; for it must be the meeting of the minds of the contracting parties, which constitutes such faith and agreement, and of course cannot be broken before its existence.

Mr. *Kockburn's* locating our lands, in the mean time the preliminaries of public faith were forming, was, at least as much a breach of that faith, as what we are charged with. Nay, according to our conception of the matter, more so; as he made the first movement towards the invasion of our property.

Soon after our messengers returned from New York, and read the Minutes of Council and your Excellency's letter of compliance therewith, to a large auditory, convened at Bennington for that purpose, composed of the inhabitants of that place, the adjacent country, and sundry respectable gentlemen from the neighboring Provinces; your Excellency's gracious, wise, and benevolent proposals for settling unity and concord in our part of the Province, were, by those present, unanimously applauded, and conceded to; and all possible public testimonies of honor and respect, paid to your Excellen-

cy and Council, by sundry discharges of cannon and small arms; your Excellency's health, long life and prosperity, as well as that of the honorable Council's, was the toast; your name commanded reverence and esteem, and your Excellency's person in particular, became precious in our eyes.

And we do humbly assure your Excellency we have no disposition of alienation of affections towards you, or knowingly break any article of public faith.

There are two propositions which are the objects of our attention.

Firstly; The protection and maintaining our property.

And secondly; to use the greatest care and prudence, not to break the article of public faith, or insult governmental authority.

These two propositions, we mean strictly and religiously to adhere to. And for the more explicit knowledge of the preliminaries and conditions of public faith and trust, we would inform your Excellency and Council, that our acceptation of those conditions on the part of *New-York*, is, that they make no further settlements or locations on our lands, granted under the great seal of the Province of *New Hampshire*, until his Majesty's pleasure be obtained, as to the validity of the grants. Although this was not so fully expressed, yet we suppose it was implied in the

abstract of the Minutes of Council; if it was not, we pray your Excellency and Council would undeceive us in that particular; for if we are deceived in this, then on this hypothesis, your Excellency and Council's lenient and friendly disposition towards us will not for the future, (by us) be viewed as such; for such location and settlements on our lands, would be incompatible with friendship, and a manifest infringement upon our propperty, which has all along been the bone of contention.

The last part of your Excellency's letter to us, contains a requirement of our immediate assistance in repossessing Col. *Reed's* tenants of said tenements. As to this particular, had your Excellency have known by what means Col. *Reed* obtained possession of them lands and tenements, undoubtedly your Excellency would not have required our assistance in repossessing him; or have viewed with concern our dispossessing him, as a daring insult to government: for the case rightly understood, it appears that *his* conduct was a daring insult to government, and continued violation of more than three years, of the laws, restrictions, regulations, and economy, both of God and man; a notorious breach of the tenth commandment of the decalogue, which says, "*Thou shalt not covet*," &c. He, coveting, did take the saw-

mill, logs, boards, and also the lands, labors, possessions, farms, tenements, &c. &c., from the rightful owners, proprietors, and first occupants thereof, without a process at law, as aforesaid, to their exclusion from the premises more than three years; all which time he has been enriching himself by the improvements of their estates; and should we repossess him of the premises again, we should become co-partners with him, in his wickedness. Such an act we could not reconcile to our own consciences; it being apparently immoral, and most flagrantly cruel and unjust.

When your Excellency and Council views these facts and arguments, we humbly conceive we shall not be required to repossess Col. Reed of the premises: nor do we expect your Excellency and Council will adjudge us to be violators of the late articles of public faith: all which, with due submission, we refer to your Excellency and Council.

And we do now, with due reverence, ask the favor of a few lines, which may certify to us, the determination of government, relative to the particulars litigated in this paper*; and remain your ever faithful and most obedient humble servants.

* No answer to this communication is extant. The negotiation, probably, terminated here.

At a general meeting, held at Manchester, on the 27th day of August, 1772, by the Committee of the towns of Bennington, Sunderland, Manchester, Dorset, Rupert, Pawlet, Wells, Poultney, Castleton, Pittsford and Rutland; the foregoing answer to his Excellency's letter of the 11th inst., was read to the said committees, and the vote was called by Mr. Nathan Clark, Chairman, whether the said answer be approved of by the said Committees? and it was voted in the affirmative. Test, ETHAN ALLEN,

Clerk of said Committees."

The settlers, on the New-Hampshire Grants, were a brave, zealous and hardy body of men; and the numerous wrongs, to which they had been subjected by the New-York authorities, had led them to a firm resistance in defence of their rights. In view of the British act of prohibition, heretofore referred to, the government of New York had proceeded to convey lands occupied under grants from royal authority; and the Albany courts had uniformly decided in favor of the grantees of New-York. Writs of possession having been issued, and every means having been put in requisition to defraud the settlers of their just rights, they had no alternative left but open resistance. At their head stood ETHAN ALLEN—bold, even to desperation, and fitted, in every respect, for the important character he sustain-

ed in the drama. The settlers uniformly confidently relied upon his skill, his zeal and his well known character for bravery, for the successful termination of their difficulties; and their confidence in him was increased by the measures he originated and carried into effect. He wrote and distributed several pamphlets, addressed more particularly, to the feelings of the settlers, in which the injustice of the New-York government was strongly depicted, and the proceedings of the Green Mountain Boys triumphantly vindicated; "and contributed much," says the author of the *State Papers*, "to inform the minds, arouse the zeal, and unite the efforts of the settlers."

The inhabitants of Rutland and Bennington counties, for the purpose of adopting such measures as the exigency of the times required, formed a convention, through their delegates, which met only on extraordinary occasions. Among other measures it was *decreed*, by this body, "that no person should take grants, or confirmation of grants under the government of New-York." It was also forbidden "all the inhabitants in the district of the New-Hampshire Grants, to hold, take, or accept, any office of honor or profit under the Colony of New-York, and all civil and military officers who had acted under the authority of the Governor or Legislature of New-York, were required to

suspend their functions on pain of being *viewed.*"*

These decrees were rigidly and severely enforced: the more common mode of punishment being an application of the "*beach seal.*"† to the naked back, and banishment from the settlements. A few instances, while they may serve to amuse, will, also, shew the spirit which actuated the settlers in punishing their enemies: A certain Doctor A. of Arlington, was a warm partizan of New-York; and had often spoken in disrespectful terms of the settlers and the decrees of their Convention. He was frequently requested to desist: and disregarding these requests, "he was carried," says Allen's History, "to the Green Mountain Tavern, in Bennington, where the Committee heard his defence, and then ordered him to be tied in an armed chair, and hoisted up to the sign, (a catamount's skin, stuffed, sitting upon the sign post, twenty-five feet from the ground, with large teeth, grinning towards New-York,) and there to hang two hours in sight of the people, as a punishment, merited by his enmity to the rights and liberties of the people of the New-Hampshire Grants. The judgment was executed to the no small merriment of a large concourse of people. The

* Allen's History.

†So called in allusion to the great seal of New-Hampshire.

Doctor was let down, and dismissed by the Committee, with an admonition to go and sin no more." A certain Benjamin Hough, was, also, punished under one of the decrees of the Convention: He had accepted, and officiated, in the office of Justice of the Peace, under the authority of New York; and being arrested, was brought before the Committee of Safety, at Sunderland. He offered in plea, the *jurisdiction of New York;* but was answered by the decree of the convention, which forbid all persons holding any civil or military office, under the authority of New-York. The following judgment was pronounced against him, before a large assemblage of people: "That the prisoner be taken from the bar of this Committee of Safety, and tied to a tree; and there on his naked back, to receive two hundred stripes: his back being dressed, he should depart out of the district; and, on return, to suffer death, unless by special leave of Convention."

Notwithstanding the evidence given that the Green Mountain Boys would not submit to the terms proposed by New-York, the authority of that state did not relax in their exertions to render them submissive. At a session of the general assembly, holden February 5th, 1774, the following resolutions were adopted:

"1. That it appears to this Committee, that there at present prevails in part of the

county of *Charlotte*, and in the north-eastern district of the county of Albany, a dangerous and destructive spirit of riot and licentiousness, subversive of all order and good government; and that it has become an intolerable grievance, which requires immediate redress.

2. *Resolved*, That it appears to this Committee, that many acts of outrage, cruelty, and oppression have been there perpetrated by a number of lawless persons, calling themselves the *Bennington* MOB, who have seized, insulted, and terrified several magistrates and other civil officers, so that they dare not exercise their respective functions; rescued prisoners for debt, assumed to themselves military commands, and judicial power; burned and demolished the houses and property, and beat and abused the persons of many of his Majesty's subjects; expelled them from their possessions, and put a period to the administration of its justice, and spread terror and destruction through that part of the country which is exposed to their oppression.

3. *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the complainants before this house, and others, who inhabit part of that colony, and from respect to government, will not countenance or be concerned in the said riotous proceedings, are exposed from the violence of the rioters, to iminent dan-

ger, both in persons and properties; and that they stand in need of immediate protection and succour.

4. *Resolved*, That it appears to this Committee, that *Ethan Allen*, *Seth Warner*, *Remember Baker*, *Robert Cochran*, *Peleg Sunderland*, *Sylvanus Brown*, *James Breakenridge*, and *John Smith*, are principal ring-leaders of, and actors in the riots and disturbances aforesaid, and that it is, therefore, the opinion of this Committee, that an humble address be presented to his Excellency, desiring that he would be pleased to issue a Proclamation, offering a reward of fifty pounds for apprehending and securing any or either of the persons above named, in his Majesty's gaol in *Albany*; and commanding the magistrates and other civil officers of the county of *Albany* and *Charlotte*, to be active and vigilant in suppressing the said riots, and preserving peace and good order, as well as for bringing to justice the perpetrators and authors of said riots.

5. *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee, that a bill be brought in, more effectually to suppress the said riotous and disorderly proceedings, maintain the free course of Justice, and for bringing the offenders to condign punishment. Which report be read in his place and afterwards delivered it in at the table, where the said resolutions were severally read a second time, and it was

resolved that this house doth agree with the Committee in their said resolutions.

Ordered, That a bill be brought in, pursuant to the last resolution, and that Mr. *Brush*, and Col. *Ten Broeck*, prepare and bring in the same. Ordered that Capt. *Delancy* and Mr. *Walton*, wait on his Excellency the Governor with the foregoing address and resolutions of the house."

These resolutions, as may be expected, created much excitement among the settlers and led them to the speedy adoption of counter measures. A general meeting of the Committees for the several townships on the west side of the range of Green Mountains, was held at Manchester, on the first day of March, 1774: at which the grievances of the people were freely discussed, as well as the extraordinary proceedings of the New York Legislature. In the conclusion of the answer, adopted by the meeting, to the resolutions of New-York, it was resolved, "that as a country, we will stand by and defend our friends and neighbours, indicted as riotors, at the expense of our lives and fortunes:" and "that, for the future, every necessary preparation be made, and that our inhabitants hold themselves in readiness at a minute's warning, to aid and defend such friends of ours, who, for their merit to the great and general cause, are falsely denominated rioters; but that we will not act any thing,

more or less, but on the defensive; and always encourage due execution of law in civil cases, and also in criminal prosecutions, that are so indeed; and that we will assist, to the utmost of our power, the officers appointed for that purpose."

On the 9th of March, and previous to the time the proceedings of the Manchester Convention were received, the General Assembly of New York, proceeded to carry into effect their resolutions of the 5th February, and enacted the following law:

An Act for preventing tumultuous and riotous Assemblies in the places therein mentioned, and for the more speedy and effectual punishing the rioters.

Whereas, a spirit of riot and licentiousness has, of late, prevailed in some parts of the counties of *Charlotte* and *Albany** and many acts of outrage and cruelty have been perpetrated by a number of turbulent men, who assembling from time to time, in arms, have seized, insulted and menaced, several magistrates, and other civil officers, so that they dare not execute their functions—rescued prisoners for debt—assumed to themselves military commands, and judicial powers—

*The County of Albany, it is believed, extended to the north line of Manchester, in the present County of Bennington; the territory north of that, on the western side of the mountains, was erected in a separate County, by the name of Charlotte.—Vt. State Papers.

burned and demolished houses and property, and beat and abused the persons of many of his Majesty's subjects—expelled others from their possessions—and finally, have put a period to the administration of justice within, and spread terror and destruction throughout, that part of the country which is exposed to their oppression: Therefore, for the preventing and suppressing such riots and tumults, and for the more speedy and effectual punishing the offenders therein,

1. *Be it enacted*, by his Excellency the Governor, the Council, and the General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority of the same, That, if any persons, to the number of three, or more, being unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assembled, within either of the said counties, to the disturbance of the public peace, at any time after the passing of this act, and being required or commanded, by any one or more justice or justices of the peace, or by the high sheriff, or his under sheriff, or by any one of the coroners of the county, where such assembly shall be, by proclamation to be made in the King's name, in the form hereinafter directed, to disperse themselves, and peaceably to depart to their habitations, or to their lawful business, shall, to the number of three, or more, notwithstanding such proclamation made, unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously remain or continue together, to the number

of three or more, after such command or request made by proclamation, shall, for every such offence, upon conviction thereof, in due form of law, either in the supreme court of judicature of this colony, or at the courts of oyer and terminer, and general gaol delivery, or at the general sessions of the peace, to be held respectively in and for the said counties of *Albany* and *Charlotte*, or either of them, suffer twelve months imprisonment, without bail or mainprize, and such further corporal punishment as the respective courts before which he, she, or they, shall be convicted, shall judge fit, not extending to life or limb; and before his or her discharge, shall enter into recognizance with two sufficient sureties, in such sum as the said courts shall respectively direct, to be of good behaviour, and keep the peace towards his Majesty and all his subjects, for the term of three years from such his, her, or their discharge out of prison.

2. *And be it further enacted* by the authority aforesaid, That the order and form of the proclamation which shall be made by the authority of this act, shall be as hereafter follows, that is to say: The justice or other person, authorised by this act to make the said proclamation, shall, among the said rioters, or as near them as he can safely come, with a loud voice, command, or cause to be commanded, silence to be kept while proclamation is making; and shall then openly,

with a loud voice, make, or cause to be made, proclamation in these words, or to the like effect: *Our Sovereign Lord the King, chargeth and commandeth all persons being assembled, immediately to disperse themselves, and peaceably to depart to their habitations, or to their lawful business, upon the pain contained in the act made in the fourteenth year of the reign of King* GEORGE *the third, to prevent tumultuous and riotous assemblies.* And every such justice or justices of the peace, sheriff, under sheriff or coroner, within the limits of the respective counties, where they reside, are hereby authorised, empowered and required, on notice or knowledge of any such unlawful, riotous and tumultuous assembly, forthwith to repair to the place where such unlawful, riotous and tumultuous assembly shall be, to the number of three or more, and there to make or cause to be made, proclamation in manner aforesaid.

3. *And be it further enacted* by the authority aforesaid, That if any person or persons do, or shall, with force and arms, wilfully and knowingly oppose, obstruct, or in any manner, wilfully and knowingly let, hinder or hurt any person or persons, who shall begin to proclaim, or go to proclaim, according to the proclamation hereby directed to be made, whereby such proclamation shall not be made; that then, every such opposing, letting, hindering or hurting, such person or

persons, so being or going to make such proclamation as aforesaid, shall be adjudged felony, without benefit of clergy; and that the offenders therein, shall be adjudged felons, and shall suffer death, as in cases of felony without benefit of clergy. And that also, every such person or persons, so being unlawfully, riotously and tumultuously assembled to the number of three, as aforesaid, or more, to whom proclamation should or ought to have been made, if the same had not been hindered as aforesaid, shall, in case they or any of them, to the number of three or more, shall continue together, and not forthwith disperse themselves, after such let or hindrance, having knowledge of such let or hindrance, shall, likewise, for every such offence, upon conviction thereof, in manner aforesaid, suffer the same pains and penalties as are hereby inflicted on those who shall continue together to the number of three or more, after they shall be commanded to depart to their habitations, or lawful business, by proclamation as aforesaid.

4. *And be it further enacted* by the authority aforesaid, That if such persons so unlawfully, riotously and tumultuously assembled, or any three or more of them, after proclamation made in manner aforesaid, shall continue together, and not forthwith disperse themselves, it shall and may be lawful to and for every such justice of the peace, sheriff, under

sheriff, coroner, or constable, of any county or township where such assembly shall be; and to and for such person or persons as shall be commanded to be assisting unto such justice of the peace, sheriff, under sheriff, coroner, or constable, (who are hereby authorised and empowered to command all his Majesty's subjects of age and ability, to be aiding and assisting to them therein;) to seize and apprehend, and they are hereby required to seize and apprehend such persons so unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assembled together, after proclamation made as aforesaid, and forthwith to carry the persons so apprehended, before any one or more of his Majesty's justices of the peace of the said counties of *Charlotte* or *Albany*, in order to their being proceeded against for such their offences according to law.

And that, if the persons so unlawfully, riotously and tumultuously assembled, or any of them, shall happen to be killed, maimed, or hurt, in the dispersing, seizing or apprehending them, by reason of their resisting the persons so dispersing, seizing, or apprehending, or endeavouring to disperse, seize, or apprehend them; and then, every such justice of the peace, sheriff, under sheriff, coroner or constable, and all and singular persons aiding and assisting to them, or any of them, shall be freed, discharged, and indemnified, as well against the King's Majesty, his heirs and

successors, as against all and every other person or persons, of, for, or concerning the killing, maiming, or hurting of any such person or persons, so unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assembled, that shall happen to be so killed, maimed, or hurt as aforesaid.

5. *And be it further enacted* by the authority aforesaid, That, if any person or persons, within the said counties, or either of them, not being lawfully authorised a judge, justice or magistrate, shall assume judicial power, or shall try, fine, sentence or condemn any person who shall either be absent, or shall unlawfully or forcibly be seized, taken or brought before him or them, for trial or punishment; or if any person or persons shall aid or assist in such illegal proceedings, or shall enforce, execute or carry into effect; or if any person or persons shall, unlawfully, seize, detain, or confine, or assault and beat any magistrate or civil officer, for, or in the respect of any act or proceeding in the due exercise of his function, or in order to compel him to resign, renounce, or surcease his commission or authority, or to terrify, hinder or prevent him from performing and discharging the duties thereof; or if any person or persons, either secretly or openly, shall, unlawfully, wilfully and maliciously, burn or destroy the grain, corn or hay, of any other person, being in any inclosure; or if any persons, unlawfully, riotously, and tumultu-

ously assembled together, to the disturbance of the public peace, shall, unlawfully, and with force, demolish or pull down, or begin to demolish or pull down, any dwelling house, barn, stable, grist mill, saw mill, or out house, within either of the said counties; that then, each of the said offences, respectively, shall be adjudged felony, without benefit of clergy; and the offenders therein shall be adjudged felons, and shall suffer death, as in cases of felony without benefit of clergy.

6. And whereas complaint and proofs have been made, as well before his Excellency the Governor and Council, as before the General Assembly, That, *Ethan Allen*, sometime of *Salisbury*, in the colony of *Connecticut*, but late of *Bennington*, in the county of *Albany*, yeoman; *Seth Warner*, late of *Bennington*, in said county, yeoman; *Remember Baker*, late of *Arlington*, in the said county, yeoman; *Robert Cochran*, late of *Rupert*, in the county of *Charlotte*, yeoman; *Peleg Sunderland* and *Silvanus Brown*, late of *Socialborough*, in the same county, yeomen; *James Brackenridge*, late of *Wallumschack*, in the county of *Albany*, yeoman; and *John Smith*, late of *Socialborough*, yeoman; have been principal ringleaders of, and actors in, the riots and disturbances aforesaid; and the general assembly have, thereupon, addressed his Excellency the Governor, to issue a proclamation offering certain rewards for apprehend-

ing and securing the said offenders, and for bringing them and the other perpetrators and authors of the riots to justice: And forasmuch as such disorderly practices are highly criminal and destuctive to the peace and settlement of the country, and it is indispensably necessary for want of process to outlawry, (which is not used in this colony) that special provision be made for bringing such offenders, in future, to trial and punishment, without exposing the colony to the expense of extraordinary rewards and bounties for apprehending such offenders.

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to, and for, his Excellency the Governor, or the Governor and Commander in Chief, for the time being, by, and with, the advice of the Council, as often as either of the above named persons, or any other person, shall be indicted in either of the counties aforesaid, for any offence perpetrated after the passing of this act, made capital by this or any other law, or where any person may stand indicted for any of the offences above mentioned, not made felony by this act, to make his order in council, thereby requiring and commanding such offender or offenders to surrender themselves, respectively, within the space of seventy days next after the first publication thereof, in the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, to one of his Majesty's justices of

the peace, for either of the said counties, respectively, who are hereby required, thereupon, to commit him or them, without bail or mainprize, to the gaol of the city of *New York*, or of the city and county of *Albany*, to the end that he or they may be forth coming to answer the offence or offences wherewith he or they shall stand charged, according to the ordinary course of law; which order the clerk of his Majesty's Council, or his deputy, shall cause forthwith to be printed and published, in eight successive papers, of the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury;* the two first of which to be, forthwith transmitted to the sheriffs of the counties of *Albany* and *Charlotte;* and the said sheriffs, respectively, shall, within six days after the receipt thereof, cause the same printed orders to be affixed upon the door of the court house of the county of *Albany*, and upon the door of the dwelling house of *Patrick Smith*, Esq., where the courts are now usually held, for the said county of *Charlotte*, and upon the doors of two other public houses in each of their respective counties. And in case the said offenders shall not respectively surrender themselves, pursuant to such orders of his Excellency the Governor, or of the Governor and Commander in Chief, for the time being, to be made in Council as aforesaid; he or they, so neglecting or refusing to surrender himself or themselves as aforesaid, shall, from the

day to be appointed for his or their surrendry as aforesaid, be adjudged, deemed, and (if indicted for a capital offence hereafter to be perpetrated) to be convicted and attainted of felony, and shall suffer death, as in cases of persons convicted and attainted of felony, by verdict and judgment, without benefit of clergy; and that it shall and may be lawful to and for the supreme court of judicature of this colony, or the courts of oyer and terminer, or general gaol delivery, for the respective counties aforesaid, to award execution against such offender or offenders, so indicted for a capital offence, perpetrated after the passing of this act, in such manner as if he or they had been convicted or attainted in the said supreme courts of judicature, or before such courts of oyer and terminer, or general gaol delivery respectively. And if any offender, being indicted for a lesser offence, under the degree of felony, shall not surrender himself within the time fixed by such order, and after such notice aforesaid, he shall thenceforth be deemed guilty of the offence for which he may be charged by such indictment; and it shall be lawful for the court wherein such indictment is found, to proceed to pronounce such judgment against the offender, as might lawfully be done if he was present in court, and convicted in the ordinary course of law, of the crime where-

with he shall so stand charged as aforesaid, Provided always,

7. *And be it further enacted* by the same authority aforesaid, That, if any person, so neglecting to surrender himself as aforesaid, within the said seventy days, shall, at any time after, surrender himself to the sheriff of the city of *New York* or *Albany*, or of the counties of *Dutchess* or *West Chester*, (who are to receive, and safely keep such offenders) and being actually in custody, shall exhibit reasonable proof, to the satisfaction of the judges of the supreme court of this colony, or either of them, that he was not within either of the said counties of *Cumberland* or *Gloucester*, at any time after the publication and notices above directed, and before such surrender of himself as aforesaid; then such judge before whom such proof is made, shall, forthwith, notify the same in writing, to the sheriff to whom any warrant of execution for the executing such offender, or any other process for any lesser punishment hath been, or may be issued; and thenceforth, such prisoner or offender shall not be liable to suffer death or any other punishment for not surrendering himself—Provided also, that nothing in this act contained shall be construed to exempt any offender, so surrendering himself after the seventy days as aforesaid, from any punishment to which he may be liable for any other crime than for not surrendering us-

himself within the said seventy days as aforesaid; nor to deprive any person who shall so surrender himself within the seventy days, from being bailed, in cases where he shall be bailable by law; any thing herein contained to the contrary thereof, in any wise, notwithstanding.

8. *And be it further enacted* by the same authority aforesaid, That all and every person and persons who shall, after the expiration of the time to be appointed, as aforesaid, for the surrender of the respective offenders herein before named, harbour, receive, conceal, abet, or succour such offender or offenders, knowing him or them to have been required to surrender him or themselves by such order or orders as aforesaid, and not to have surrendered pursuant thereto, shall, upon conviction thereof, in due form of law, suf-
i fer the same pains and penalties as are, by
s this act, inflicted on those who shall continue
st together to the number of three or more, af-
he ter they shall be commanded to depart to
off their habitation or lawful business, by procla-
ind mation as aforesaid.
cou 9. And whereas the said county of *Char-*
pro*otte*, hath but lately been set off from the said
the ounty of *Albany*, and there is yet no gaol or
was ourt house erected within the same; and a
ordi reat part of the said county being involved
a state of anarchy and confusion, by reason
the violent proceedings of the aforesaid

riotous and disorderly people, from whence it must, at present, be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to bring offenders to justice within the said county.

Be it therefore further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all treasons, felonies, crimes, misdemeanors and offences whatsoever, at any time hereafter to be committed or perpetrated, within the said county of *Charlotte*, shall and may be proceeded against and presented by any grand jury for the county of *Albany*, from time to time, to be impannelled and sworn at any court of criminal jurisdiction to be held in and for the said county of *Albany;* who shall and may charge any of the said offences to have been committed in any part of the said county of *Charlotte;* and all indictments so found by them, shall be adjudged to be good and valid, notwithstanding that the place of perpetrating any of the said offences be in the said indictments alleged to be out of the said county of *Albany;* and all such offences and offenders which shall be presented or indicted as aforesaid, shall and may be tried within the county of *Albany*, and by a jury thereof, and there heard, determined, and punished in the same manner and as if such treason, felony, crime, misdemeanor or offence, had arisen and been perpetrated within the said county of *Albany.*

10. Provided always, *and be it further enacted*, That if, at any time hereafter, the jus-

tices to be appointed for holding courts of oyer and terminer, and general gaol delivery for the said county of *Charlotte*, in cases cognizable before them, or the justices of the general sessions of the peace for the said county of *Charlotte*, in cases cognizable before them, shall conceive that any prisoner or offender may be safely brought to justice within, and by a jury of, the said county of *Charlotte*, that then, it shall and may be lawful to and for each of the said courts respectively, to proceed against, and try, such prisoner or offender, having lawful cognizance of his cause, within, and by a jury of, the said county of *Charlotte;* and him there to acquit or to sentence, condemn, and punish, as the law directs; any thing in this act to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

11. *And be it further enacted* by the authority aforesaid, That this act shall be publicly read in every court of general sessions of the peace, to be held in each of the said counties of *Albany* and *Charlotte* respectively.

12. *And be it further enacted* by the authority aforesaid, That this act shall remain and continue in full force and effect, from the passing thereof, until the first day of *January*, which will be in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and seventy six."

The passage of the foregoing law, blasted every prospect of amity or peace between the belligerents—the Green Mountain Boys

regarding it as an act to terrify them into submission to unjust and arbitrary measures. Under this impression, therefore, the threats were regarded with contempt; and only served to rivet, still closer, their attachment to the position they had assumed. As an evidence of this, we find the following Remonstrance to the law, signed by *Ethan Allen*, and others, "which presents," says the *State Papers*, "a fair specimen of the views and feelings of the great body of the New Hampshire grantees, at this trying period."

"His Excellency, Governor *Tryon*, in conformity to the addresses of the general assembly of the colony of *New York*, having, on the 9th day of *March*, 1774, with the advice of his Council, issued his proclamation, offering, therein, large sums of money for the purpose of apprehending and imprisoning the following persons, viz: *Ethan Allen*, *Seth Warner*, *Remember Baker*, *Robert Cochran*, *Peleg Sunderland*, *Silvanus Brown*, *James Brackenridge*, and *James Smith*.

And whereas his Excellency the Governor, by the same proclamation, hath strictly enjoined and commanded all magistrates, justices of the peace, sheriffs, and other civil officers, of the counties of *Albany* and *Charlotte*, to be active and vigilant in apprehending and imprisoning the persons above named; and we, the aforesaid persons, who have hereunto subscribed, being conscious

that our cause is good and equitable in the sight of God, and all unprejudiced and honest men, are determined, at all events, to maintain and defend the same, till his Majesty's pleasure shall be known concerning the validity of the *New Hampshire* grants. And we now proclaim to the public, not only for ourselves, but for the *New Hampshire* grantees, and occupants in general, that the spring, and moving cause, of our opposition to the government of *New York*, was self preservation, viz: Firstly, the preservation and maintaining of our property: and secondly, since that government is so incensed against us, therefore it stands us in hand to defend our lives; for, it appears, by a late set of laws, passed by the legislature thereof, that the lives and property of the *New Hampshire* settlers are manifestly struck at: but, that the public may rightly understand the essence of the controversy, we now proclaim to those law givers, and to the world, that if the *New York* patentees will remove their patents that have been, subsequently, lapped and laid on the *New Hampshire* charters, and quiet us in our possessions, agreeable to his Majesty's directions, and suspend those criminal prosecutions against us for being rioters (as we are unjustly denominated) then will our settlers be orderly and submissive subjects to government; but, be it known to that despotic fraternity of law makers and law break-

ers, that we will not be fooled or frighted out of our property. They have broke over his Majesty's express prohibitions, in patenting those lands, and when they act in conformity to the regal authority of *Great Britain* it will be soon enough for us to obey them. It is well known by all wise and sensible persons in the neighbouring governments, (that have animadverted on the controversy) that their pretended zeal for good order and government, is fallacious, and that they aim at the lands and labours of the grantees and settlers aforesaid; and that they subvert the good and wholesome laws of the realm, to corroborate with, and bring about their vile and mercenary purposes.

And, inasmuch as the malignity of their disposition towards us, hath flamed to an immeasurable and murderous degree, they have, in their new fangled laws, calculated for the meridian of the *New Hampshire* grants, passed the 9th of *March*, 1774, so calculated them, as to correspond with the depravedness of their minds and morals;—in them laws, they have exhibited their genuine pictures. The emblems of their insatiable, avaricious, overbearing, inhuman, barbarous, and blood guiltiness of disposition and intention is therein pourtrayed in that transparent image of themselves, which cannot fail to be a blot, and an infamous reproach to them, to posterity.—We cannot suppose, that every

of his Majesty's Council, or that all the members of the general assembly were active in passing so bloody and unconstitutional a set of laws. Undoubtedly, some of them disapproved thereof; and it is altogether possible, that many that were active in making the law, were imposed upon by false representations, and acted under mistaken views of doing honor to government; but be this as it will, it appears that there was a majority. And it has been too much the case with that government, for a number of designing schemers, and land jockeys, to rule the same. Let us take a view of their former narrow and circumscribed boundaries, and how, by that legerdemain, bribery and deceptions of one sort or other, they have extended their domain far and wide. They have wrangled with, and encroached upon their neighbouring governments, and have used all manner of deceit and fraud to accomplish their designs: their tenants groan under their usury and oppression; and they have gained, as well as merited, the disapprobation and abhorrence of their neighbours; and the innocent blood they have already shed, calls for heaven's vengeance on their heads; and if they should come forth in arms against us, thousands of their injured and dissatisfied neighbours in the several governments, will join with us, to cut off, and extirpate such an execrable race from the face of the earth!

This piece is not supposed to contain a full answer to the new constructed laws aforesaid; for such a large *two year old*, hath never before been seen in *America*, it being of an enormous and monstrous birth; nor is it supposed to give the legislators their full characters: but so much may suffice for the present. To quote the laws, and make remarks thereon, would be matter sufficient for a volume: however, we will yet make some short observations.

1st. Negatively, it is not a law for the Province of *New York* in general, but,

2d. Positively, it is a law but for part of the counties of *Charlotte* and *Albany*, viz: such parts thereof as are covered with the *New Hampshire* charters; and it is well known those grants compose but a minor part of the inhabitants of said Province; and we have no representative in that assembly.—The first knowledge we had of said laws, was the completion of them; which informed us, that if we assembled, three or more of us together, to oppose (that which they call legal) authority, we shall be adjudged felons, and suffer the pains of death; and that same fraternity of plotters knew, as well as we, and the generality of the people in the adjacent colonies, that they have, for a number of years last past, endeavoured to exercise such a course of what they call law, that had they not been opposed by the people of these

grants (called the MOB) in the executing the same, they would, before this time, have been in possession of that territory, for which the laws aforesaid are calculated. Therefore, the case stands thus: If we oppose civil officers, in taking possession of our farms, we are, by these laws, denominated felons; or if we defend our neighbours who have been indicted rioters, only for defending our property; we are likewise adjudged felons. In fine, every opposition to their monarchical government is deemed felony, and at the end of every sentence, there is the word DEATH! And the same laws further impowered the respective judges, provided any persons, to the number of three, or more, that shall oppose any Magistrate, or other civil officer, and be not taken, that after a legal warning of seventy days, if they do not come and yield themselves up to certain officers appointed for the purpose of securing them; then it shall be lawful for the judges aforesaid, to award execution of DEATH, the same as though he or they had been convicted or attainted before a proper court of judicature, &c. The candid reader will, doubtless, observe, that the diabolical design of this law, is to obtain possession of the *New Hampshire* grants, or to make the people that defend them, out-laws, and so kill them whenever they can catch them.

Those bloody law-givers know we are ne-

cessitated to oppose their execution of law, where it points directly at our property, or give up the same: but there is one thing is matter of consolation to us, viz: that printed sentences of death will not kill us when we are at a distance; and if the executioners approach us, they will be as likely to fall victims to death as we: and that person, or country of persons, are cowards indeed, if they cannot, as manfully, fight for their liberty, property and life, as villains can do to deprive them thereof.

The *New York* schemers accuse us with many things; part of which are true, and part not.—With respect to rescuing prisoners for debt, it is *false*. As to assuming judicial powers, we *have not*, except a well regulated combination of the people to defend their just rights, may be called so. As to forming ourselves into military order, and assuming military commands, the *New York* possies, and military preparations, oppressions, &c. *obliged us to it*. Probably Messieurs *Duane*, *Kemp*, and *Banyar*, of *New York*, will not discommend us for so expedient a preparation; more especially since the decrees of the 9th of *March*, are yet to be put in execution: and we flatter ourselves, upon occasion, we can muster as good a regiment of marksmen and scalpers, as *America* can afford; and we now give the gentlemen above named, together with Mr. *Brush*, and Col.

Ten Broeck, and in fine, all the land-jobbers of *New York*, an invitation to come and view the dexterity of our regiment; and we cannot think of a better time for that purpose, than when the executioners come to kill us, by virtue of the authority their judges have lately received to award and sentence us to death in our absence. There is still one more notable complaint against us, viz:—That we had insulted and menaced several magistrates, and other civil officers, so that they dare not execute their respective functions. This is *true*, so far as it relates to the magistrates. But the public should be informed, what the functions of those magistrates are:—they are commissioned for the sole purpose of doing us all the harm and mischief they possibly can, through their administration and influence; and that they might be subservient to the wicked designs of the *New York* schemers. These are their functions; and the public need no further proof than the consideration that they are the tools of those extravagant law-makers; and it must be owned, they acted with great judgment, in choosing the most infernal instruments for their purpose.

Draco, the *Athenian* law-giver, caused a number of laws, (in many respects analogous to those we have been speaking of,) to be *written* in blood. But our modern *Dracos* determine to have their's *verified in blood.* They

well know we shall, more than *three*, nay, more than *three times three hundred*, assemble together, if need be, to maintain our common cause, till his Majesty determines who shall be and remain the owners of the land in contest. "*Wilt not thou possess that which Chemoth, thy God, giveth thee to possess?*" So will we possess that which the Lord our God (and King) giveth us to possess.

And lastly, we address ourselves to the people of the counties of *Albany* and *Charlotte*, which inhabit to the westward of, and are situated contiguous to, the *New Hampshire* grants.

Gentlemen, Friends and Neighbours,

Providence having allotted and fixed the bounds of our habitations in the same vicinity, which, together with the intercourse of trade and commerce, hath formed an almost universal acquaintance and tie of friendship between us, and hath laid such a foundation of knowledge, that your people, in general, cannot but be sensible that the title of our land is, in reality, the bone of contention; and that, as a people, we behave ourselves orderly; and are industrious, and honestly disposed; and pay just deference to order and good government; and that we mean no more by that which is called the MOB, but to defend our just rights and property. We appeal to the gentlemen merchants, to inform

whether our people, in general, do not exert themselves to pay their just debts; and whether ever they have been hindered by the country's MOB, in the collection of their dues. But as the magistrates, sheriffs, under sheriffs, coroners and constables, of the respective counties, that hold their posts of honour and profit under our bitter enemies, we have a jealousy, that some of them may be induced (to recommend themselves to those on whom they are dependent, and for the wages of unrighteousness, offered by proclamation) to presume to apprehend some of us, or our friends: We therefore, advertise such officers, and all persons whatsoever, that we are resolved to inflict *immediate death* on whomsoever may attempt the same. And provided any of us or our party shall be taken, and we have not notice sufficient to relieve them, or whether we relieve them or not, we are resolved to surround such person or persons, whether at his or their own house or houses, or any where that we can find him or them, and *shoot such person or persons dead.* And furthermore, that we will *kill* and *destroy* any person or persons whomsoever, that shall *presume* to be accessary, aiding or assisting in taking any of us as aforesaid; for by these presents we give any such disposed person or persons to understand, that, although they have a license by the law aforesaid, *to kill us;* and an "indemnification" for such murder,

from the same authority; yet they have no indemnification for so doing, from the *green mountain boys;* for our lives, liberties and properties, are as verily precious to us, as to any of the King's subjects; and we are as loyal to his Majesty or his government, as any subjects in the Province: but if the governmental authority of *New-York* will judge in their own case, and act in opposition to that of *Great Britain*, and insist upon killing us, to take possession of our "vineyards"—come on, we are ready for a game of scalping with them; for our martial spirits glow with bitter indignation, and consummate fury, to blast their infernal projections.

It may be, the reader not having seen the law referred to in this piece, and not being thoroughly acquainted with the long and spirited conflict that hath subsisted between the claimants under *New-Hampshire* and *New-York*, nor of the progressive, arbitrary and monopolizing disposition of the court party of the latter of those Provinces; may be apt to imagine that the spirit of this writing is too severe, inasmuch as it destines whoever presumes to take us as felons or rioters, to immediate death; but let the wise consider the state of the cause.

1. Provided we on our part be taken, we have by them laws, the sentence of death already pronounced against us, on proviso more than three of us assemble together to

maintain and defend our property, till his Majesty determines the controversy, And

2. May it be considered, that the legislative authority of the Province of *New-York* had no constitutional right or power to make such laws; and consequently, that they are null and void, from the nature and energy of the *English* constitution; therefore as they merit no place among the laws of the realm of *Great Britain*, but are the arbitrary league and combination of our bitter and merciless enemies, who, to obtain our property, have inhumanly, barbarously, and maliciously, under the specious and hypocritical pretence of legal authority, and veneration for order and government, laid a snare for our lives; can the public censure us for exerting ourselves nervously to preserve our lives, in so critical a situation? For, by the laws of the Province, into which we are unfortunately fallen, we cannot be protected in either property or life, except we give up the former to secure the latter; so we are resolved to maintain both, or to hazard or lose both.

From hence follows a necessary inference, That inasmuch as our property, nay, our lives, cannot be protected (but manifestly struck at) by the highest authority in the Province to which we, at present belong; therefore in the interim, while his Majesty is determining the controversy, and till he shall

interpose his royal authority, and subject the authority aforesaid to their duty, or reannex the district of disputed lands to the Province of *New-Hampshire*, in his great wisdom, and fatherly clemency, put the distressed settlers under *New-Hampshire*, on an equal footing with our brother subjects in his realm; we are under necessity of resisting, even unto blood, every person who may attempt to take us as felons or rioters as aforesaid; for in this case it is not resisting law, but only opposing force by force; therefore inasmuch as by the oppressions aforesaid, the *New-Hampshire* settlers are reduced to the disagreeable state of anarchy and confusion, in which state we hope for wisdom, patience and fortitude, till the happy hour his Majesty shall graciously be pleased to restore us to the privileges of *Englishmen*.

Signed by ETHAN ALLEN,
SETH WARNER,
REMEMBER BAKER,
ROBERT COCKRAN,
PELEG SUNDERLAND,
JOHN SMITH,
SILVANUS BROWN.

Bennington, April 26, 1774.

The seeds of disunion, sown by the unwise policy of the British Ministry, were, at this advanced state of the Controversy between New York and Vermont, rapidly springing into life. The oppressive meas-

ures of the Parent Government—its fatal attempt to burthen the Colonists with a system of unequal taxation—aroused a spirit among them, indicative of a sanguinary struggle, and a bloody termination. So threatening was the aspect of affairs, that preparatory measures were taken for convening a Continental Congress; and Delegates were, accordingly, chosen, from twelve of the Colonies, to meet at Philadelphia, on the 5th day of September, 1774.

This important step towards an organization of the political power of the Colonies, was followed, as may naturally be anticipated, by an almost total suspension of royal authority: "The courts of justice," says Williams' History, "were either shut up, or adjourned, without doing any business:" and every attempt, on the part of the King's officers, to extend their authority over the people, was followed by a strong and decided opposition. The first interruption of this kind, occurred at Westminster, in the county of Cumberland, in the New Hampshire Grants, over which the jurisdiction of New York had been extended. The occurrence is fully described in the following document:

"*A relation of the proceedings of the people of the County of Cumberland, and Province of New-York.*

In June, 1774, there were some letters came to the Supervisors of said county from

the Committee of correspondence at New-York, signed by their chairman, Mr. Low; which letters, said Supervisors, through ignorance or intention, kept until September, when they had another meeting; and it is supposed that they intended always to have kept them, and the good people would have remained in ignorance about them until this time, had it not been by accident that it was whispered abroad, so that Dr. Reuben Jones of Rockingham, and Capt. Azaria Wright of Westminster heard of it, and took proper care to notify those towns. A meeting was called in the two towns aforesaid, and a committee was chosen by each town, to wait on the supervisors, at their meeting in September, to see if there were any papers that should be laid before the several towns in the county; and they found that there were papers come from the committee of correspondence, that should have been laid before the towns in June. The supervisors made many excuses for their conduct: some plead ignorance, and some one thing and some another: but the most of them did seem to think, that they could send a return to the committee at New-York, without ever laying them before their constituents; which principle, at this day, so much prevails, that it is the undoing of the people. Men at this day are so unfortunately tainted, with the principles of tyranny, that they would fain be-

lieve, that as they are chosen by the people to any kind of office, for any particular thing, that they have the sole power of that people by whom they are chosen, and can act in the name of that people in any matter or thing, though it is not in any connection with what they were chosen for. But the committees would not consent to have a return made, until every town in the county, had Mr. Low's letters laid before them; which was done, and a County Congress was called; return was made, a committee was chosen to see that it was put in print; but through interest or otherwise, it never was published in any of the papers.

Immediately after, the people of the county aforesaid received the resolves of the Continental Congress. They called a County Congress, and did adopt all the resolves of the Continental Congress as their resolves, promising religiously to adhere to that agreement or association. There was a committee of inspection moved for, to be chosen by the county, according to the second resolve of the association aforesaid; but being much spoken against by a justice and an attorney and looked upon by them as an impertinent thing, the delegates dared not choose one. At this time there were tory parties forming, although they were under disguise; and had laid a plan to bring the lower sort of the people into a state of bondage and slavery.

They saw that there was no cash stirring, and they took that opportunity to collect debts, knowing that men had no other way to pay them, than by having their estates taken by execution, and sold at vendue.—There were but very few men among us that were able to buy; and those men were so disposed, that they would take all the world into their own hands, without paying any thing for it, if they could, by law; which would soon bring the country into slavery. Most, or all of our men in authority, and all that wanted court favors, seemed much enraged, and stirred up many vexatious lawsuits, and imprisoned many, contrary to the laws of this Province, and the statutes of the crown. One man they put into close prison for high treason; and all that they proved against him, was, that he said if the King had signed the Quebec bill, it was his opinion that he had broken his coronation oath. But the good people went and opened the prison door and let him go, and did no violence to any man's person or property. Our men in office would say that they did like the resolutions of the Continental Congress, and they ought to be strictly adhered to, until our general assembly voted against them. Then they said that this would do for the Bay-Province, but it was childish for us to pay any regard to them. Some of our court would boldly say, that the King had a

just right to make the revenue-acts, for he had a supreme power; and he that said otherwise was guilty of high treason, and they did hope that they would be executed accordingly. The people were of opinion that such men were not suitable to rule over them: and as the general assembly of this Province would not accede to the association of the Continental Congress, the good people were of opinion, that if they did accede to any power from or under them they should be guilty of the breach of the 4th article of that association, and may justly be dealt with, accordingly, by all America.—When the good people considered that the general assembly were for bringing them into a state of slavery (which did appear plain by their not acceding to the best method to procure their liberties, and the executive power so strongly acquiescing in all that they did, whether it was right or wrong;) the good people of said county thought it time to look to themselves. And they thought that it was dangerous to trust their lives and fortunes in the hands of such enemies to American liberty; but more particularly unreasonable that there should be any court held; since, thereby, we must accede to what our general assembly had done, in not acceding to what the whole continent had recommended; and that all America would break off all dealings and commerce with us.

and bring us into a state of slavery at once. Therefore in duty to God, ourselves and posterity, we thought ourselves under the strongest obligations to resist and to oppose all authority that would not accede to the resolves of the Continental Congress. But knowing that many of our court were men that neither feared or regarded men, but thought it was most prudent to go and persuade the judges to stay at home. Accordingly there were about forty good true men went from Rockingham to Chester, to dissuade Col. Chandler, the chief Judge, from attending court. He said he believed it would be for the good of the county not to have any court, as things were: but there was one case of murder that they must see to, and if it was not agreeable to the people, they would not have any other case. One of the committee told him that the Sheriff would raise a number with arms, and that there would be bloodshed. The Colonel said that he would give his word and honor that there should not be any arms brought against us; and he would go down to court on Monday the 13th of March instant, which was the day that the court was to be opened. We told him that we would wait on him, if it was his will. He said that our company would be very agreeable; likewise he returned us his hearty thanks for our civility, and so we parted with him.

We heard from the southern part of the state, that Judge Sabin was very earnest to have the law go on, as well as many petty officers. There were but two judges in the county at that time, Col. Wells being gone to New York. There was a great deal of talk in what manner to stop the court; and at length it was agreed on to let the court come together, and lay the reasons we had against their proceeding, before them, thinking they were men of such sense that they would hear them. But on Friday, we heard that the court was going to take possession of the house on the 13th inst., and to keep a strong guard at the doors of said house, that we could not come in. We being justly alarmed by the deceit of our court, though it was not strange, therefore we thought proper to get to court before the armed guards were placed; for, we were determined that our grievances should be laid before the court, before it was opened. On Monday, the 13th of March inst., there were about 100 of us entered the court house, about four o'clock in the afternoon. But we had but just entered, before we were alarmed by a large number of men, armed with guns, swords and pistols. But we, in the house, had not any weapons of war among us, and were determined that they should not come in with their weapons of war, except by force of them.

Esq. Patterson came up at the head of his armed company, within about five yards of the door, and commanded us to disperse; to which he got no answer. He then caused the King's Proclamation to be read, and told us, that if we did not disperse in fifteen minutes, by G—d he would blow a lane through us. We told him that we would not disperse. We told them that they might come in if they would unarm themselves, but not without.—One of our men went out at the door, and asked them if they were come for war; told them that we were come for peace, and that we should be glad to hold a parley with them. At that, Mr. Gale, the clerk of the court, drew a pistol, held it up, and said, d—n the parley with such d—d rascals as you are; I will hold no parley with such d—d rascals, but by this,—holding up his pistol. They gave us very harsh language, told us we should be in hell before morning; but, after a while, they drew a little off from the house, and seemed to be in a consultation. Three of us went out to treat with them; but the most or all, that we could get from them, was, that they would not talk with such d—d rascals as we were; and we soon returned to the house, and they soon went off.

Col. Chandler came in, and we laid the case before him, and told him that we had his word that there should not be any arms brought against us. He said that the arms

were brought without his consent, but he would go and take them away from them, and we should enjoy the house undisturbed until morning; and that the court should come in the morning without arms, and should hear what we had to lay before them; and then he went away. We then went out of the house and chose a committee, which drew up articles to stand for, and read them to the company; and they were voted *nem. con. dis.* and some of our men went to the neighbours, and as many as the court and their party saw, they bound.

About midnight, or a little before, the sentry, at the door, espied some men with guns, and he gave the word to man the doors, and the walk was crowded. Immediately, the sheriff and his company marched up fast, within about ten rods of the door, and then the word was given, take care, and then, fire. Three fired immediately. The word fire was repeated; G—d d—n you, fire, send them to hell, were most or all the words that were to be heard for some time: on which, there were several men wounded; one was shot with four bullets, one of which went through his brain, of which wound he died next day. Then they rushed in with their guns, swords and clubs, and did most cruelly bruise several more; and took some that were not wounded, and those that were, and crowded them into close prison together, and

told them that they should all be in hell before the next night, and that they did wish that there were forty more in the same case with that dying man. When they put him into prison, they took and dragged him as one would a dog; and would mock him as he lay gasping, and make sport for themselves, at his dying motions. The people that escaped took prudent care to notify the people in the county, and also in the government of New Hampshire, and the Bay; which being justly alarmed at such an unheard of and aggravated piece of murder, did kindly interpose in our favour.

On Tuesday the 14th inst., about 12 o'clock, nearly 200 men, well armed came from New Hampshire government; and before night there were several of the people of Cumberland county returned, and took up all they knew of, that were in the horrid massacre, and confined them under a strong guard; and afterwards they confined as many as they could get evidence against, except several that did escape for their lives. On the 15th inst., the body formed, chose a moderator and clerk, and chose a committee to see that the coroner's jury of inquest were just, impartial men; which jury on their oath did bring in, that W. Patterson, &c. &c. did, on the 13th March inst., by force and arms, make an assault on the body of William

French,* then and there lying dead, and shot him through the head with a bullet, of which wound he died, and not otherwise. Then, the criminals were confined in close prison, and on the evening of the same day, and early the next morning, a large number came from the southern part of the county of Cumberland, and the Bay Province. It is computed, that in the whole, there were 500 good martial soldiers, well equiped for war, that had gathered. On the 16th inst., the body assembled; but being so numerous that they

* The following is a *literal* copy, of the inscription on the tomb stone of Mr. French. We present it to our readers as a *literary curiosity.*

EPITAPH.

In Memory of William French
Son of Mr Nathaniel French Who
Was shot at Westminster March 13th
1775 by the hands of Cruel Ministereal
tools of Georg 3d in the Corthouse at
a 11 a Clock at Night in the 22d year of
his Age ——
Here William French his Body lies
For Murder his blood for Vengance cries
King Georg the third his Tory crew
tha with a bawl his head Shot threw
For Liberty and his Countrys Good
he Lost his Life his Dearest blood

could not do business, there was a vote passed, to choose a large committee to represent the whole, and that this committee should consist of men who did not belong to the county of Cumberland, as well as those that did belong thereto; which was done. After the most critical and impartial examination of evidence, voted, that the heads of them should be confined in Northampton jail, till they could have a fair trial; and those that did not appear so guilty, should be under bonds, holden to answer at the next court of oyer and terminer in the county aforesaid; which was agreed to. On the 17th inst., bonds were taken for those that were to be bound, and the rest set out under a strong guard for Northampton.

We, the committee aforesaid, embrace this opportunity to return our most grateful acknowledgments and sincere thanks to our truly wise and patriotic friends in the government of New Hampshire and the Massachusetts Bay, for their kind and benevolent interposition in our favour, at such a time of distress and confusion aforesaid; strongly assuring them, that we shall be always ready for their aid and assistance, if by the dispensations of divine providence, we are called thereto.

Signed by order of the Committee.

REUBEN JONES, *Clerk.*

Cumberland county, March 23*d*, 1775."

The effect of this Massacre, as it was termed, was electrical upon the people of Cumberland, and, in fact, upon the whole mass of settlers on the New Hampshire Grants. The opposition to the claims of New York, had, thus far, mostly been confined to the inhabitants on the Western side of the Green Mountains—a majority of the grantees, in the vicinity of Connecticut River, having surrendered their original charters, taken new grants under New York, and quietly submitted to the jurisdiction of that Colony: They entered fully, however, into the spirit which pervaded the people of Massachusetts and Connecticut, in relation to the oppressive policy of Great Britain towards her American Colonies. This state of public sentiment, together with the fact that the Provincial Assembly of New York had withheld its approbation from the political measures recommended by the Continental Congress, (which had received the sanction of every other Colony) induced them to an open resistance of the administration of New York. In pursuance of this determination, a meeting of a large body of people was held at Westminster, on the 11th day of April, 1775, at which the following measures were adopted:

1. Voted, That Major Abijah Lovejoy be the Moderator of this meeting.

2. Voted, That Dr. Reuben Jones be the Clerk.

3. Voted, as our opinion, That our inhabitants are in great danger of having their property unjustly, cruelly, and unconstitutionally taken from them, by the arbitrary and designing administration of the government of New York; sundry instances having already taken place.

4. Voted, as our opinion, That the lives of those inhabitants are in the utmost hazard and imminent danger, under the present administration. Witness the malicious and horrid massacre of the night of the 13th ult.

5. Voted, as our opinion, That it is the duty of said inhabitants, as predicated on the eternal and immutable law of self preservation, to wholly renounce and resist the administration of the government of New York, till such time as the lives and property of those inhabitants may be secured by it; or till such time as they can have opportunity to lay their grievances before his most gracious Majesty in Council, together with proper remonstrance against the unjustifiable conduct of that government; with an humble petition, to be taken out of so oppressive a jurisdiction, and, either annexed to some other government, or erected and incorporated into a new one, as may appear best to the said inhabitants, to the royal wisdom and

clemency, and till such time as his Majesty shall settle this controversy.

6. Voted, That Col. John Hazeltine, Cha's Phelps, Esq. and Col. Ethan Allen, be a Committee to prepare such remonstrance and petition for the purpose aforesaid.

In this situation of affairs, the people of Vermont were electrified by the commencement of hostilities, between America and Great Britain, at Lexington, Ms., on the memorable 19th of April, 1775. This exciting prelude to an eventful drama, produced a startling effect from one extremity of the Colonies to the other. "Local and Provincial contests, were, at once," says Williams' History, "swallowed up by the novelty, the grandeur, and the importance of the contest thus opened."

Although the settlers on the New Hampshire Grants, yielded to the importance of the American cause, and used their endeavours to assist in carrying into effect the measures agreed upon by the sister Colonies, yet they did not relax in their exertions to improve their internal condition, and substantiate the purity and justness of their proceedings in regard to the claims of New York. To a firm adherence to their primary position, and to their patriotic exertions in behalf of the *common cause*, may be attributed the little trouble they afterwards experienced in obtaining an amicable and satis-

factory settlement of their difficulties, and a final admission into the Federal Union.

The period to which we have now arrived in the life of Col. Allen, places him in a more broad and interesting position before the reader. Heretofore he has been seen only as the zealous friend of the people among whom he resided—as the champion of the humble citizen, contending for the rights of property and private justice : In these offices of friendship and duty, however, he had rendered himself conspicuous and trust worthy. He had evinced a spirit of patriotism, and a love of freedom, which warmly recommended him to the confidence, the esteem, and the friendship, of the most conspicuous advocates of American liberty. That he should have been selected, therefore, as a leader in a measure fraught with important incidents, to the cause of liberty, is a reward due both to his patriotic principles and important public services.

Soon after the result of the battle of Lexington was known, instructions were privately sent to Col. Allen, from the General Assembly of Connecticut, to enlist a body of the settlers on the New Hampshire Grants, and, if it were thought possible, to surprise and take the fortress of Ticonderoga.* This

* Doctors Morse and Parish thus describe this fortress in the American Gazetteer :

" Ticonderoga, in the State of New York, was built

enterprise was cheerfully undertaken by him. The requisite number of men were speedily enrolled, and ready for the attack. The several passes, leading to the fortress, were carefully guarded by Col. Allen, and all communication between the garrison and the adjoining country, intercepted. By a forced march, he arrived at the Lake, opposite Ticonderoga, on the evening of the 9th day of May, 1775, with two hundred and thirty brave Green Mountain Boys. Considerable difficulty was experienced in procuring boats to cross the Lake: This difficulty, however, was, at last, surmounted; and eighty three men were landed near the garrison, and the boats sent back for the rear guard, com-

by the French, in the year 1756, on the north side of a Peninsula, formed by the confluence of the waters issuing from Lake George into Lake Champlain. It is now a heap of ruins, and forms an appendage to a farm. Its name signifies *Noisy*, in the Indian language; and was called, by the French, *Corillor*. Mount Independence, in Addison County, Vt., is about two miles S. E. of it, and separated from it by the narrow strait which conveys the waters of Lake George and South River into Lake Champlain. It had all the advantages which art or nature could give it—being defended on three sides by water, surrounded by rocks; and where that fails, the French erected a breast-work nine feet high. This was the first fortress attacked by the Americans during the Revolutionary war. The troops under Gen. Abercrombie were defeated here, in 1758; but it was retaken the year following by Gen. Amherst. It was surprised by Col. Allen, May 10, 1775, and was retaken by Gen. Burgoyne, in July, 1777.

manded by Col. Seth Warner. As the day began to dawn, Col. Allen found himself under the necessity of attacking the fort, before the arrival of Col. Warner's detachment.—"As this," says Col. Allen, in his "*Narrative*," "was viewed hazardous, I harangued the officers and soldiers in the manner following:

"*Friends and fellow soldiers:* You have, for a number of years past, been a scourge and terror to arbitrary power. Your valor has been famed abroad, and acknowledged, as appears by the advice and orders to me, from the General Assembly of Connecticut, to surprise and take the garrison now before us. I now propose to advance before you; and, in person, conduct you through the wicket-gate; for we must, this morning, either quit our pretensions to valor, or possess ourselves of this fortress in a few minutes. And, inasmuch as it is a desperate attempt, which none but the bravest of men dare undertake, I do not urge it on any one contrary to his will. You that will undertake, voluntarily, *poise your firelocks.*" As might be conjectured, among such a body of hardy and fearless men, the musket of every one was brought to a poise: Colonel Allen, with his men, immediately advanced to the wicket gate, where a sentry was found posted, who snapped his musket at him, and retreated through the covered way into the parade, within the garrison, gave the alarm, and ran under a

bomb-proof.* Col. Allen immediately formed his men (who had boldly followed him,) on the parade in such a manner that they faced the two barracks, which were opposite to each other. The garrison being asleep, except the sentries, three loud huzzas were given, very much, without doubt, to their surprise. One of the sentries made a pass at one of the American officers, with a bayonet, and slightly wounded him. "My first thought," says the Colonel, "was to kill him with my sword; but, in an instant, I altered the design and fury of the blow, to a slight cut on the side of the head; upon which, he dropped his gun, and asked for quarters, which I readily granted him, and demanded of him the place where the commanding officer kept. He shewed me a pair of stairs, in the front of a barrack, on the West part of the garrison, which led up to a second story in said barrack, to which I immediately repaired, and ordered the commander, Capt. De La Place, to come forth instantly, or I would sacrifice the whole garrison; at which the Captain came immediately to the door, with his small clothes in his hand—when I

* The author, in detailing the events of this transaction, as well as the incidents connected with the life of Col. Allen, from 1775 to 1778, has relied upon the details furnished by the "*Narrative*" heretofore referred to; and, so far as possible, preserved the language of the narrator.

ordered him to deliver to me the fort, instantly. He asked me by what authority I demanded it. I answered him—"In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" The authority of the Congress being very little known, at that time, he began to speak again; but I interrupted him; and, with my drawn sword over his head, again demanded an immediate surrender of the garrison: with which he then complied, and ordered his men to be forthwith paraded without arms, as he had given up the garrison. In the mean time, some of my officers had given orders, and in consequence thereof, sundry of the barrack doors were beaten down, and about one third of the garrison imprisoned, which consisted of the commander, a Lieutenant Feltham, a conductor of Artillery, a gunner, two sergeants, and forty rank and file, together with about one hundred pieces of Cannon, one thirteen-inch mortar, and a number of swivels. This surprise was carried into execution in the gray of the morning of the 10th of May, 1775.—The sun," adds the Colonel, "seemed to rise that morning with a superior lustre; and Ticonderoga and its dependencies smiled on its conquerors, who tossed about the flowing bowl, and wished success to Congress and the liberty and freedom of America."

Col. Warner, with the rear guard, crossed the lake, and joined the conquerors, early in

the morning; who was immediately despatched, with about one hundred men, to take possession of Crown Point, which was garrisoned with only a sergeant and twelve men. This was effected the same day, and about one hundred pieces of cannon, together with other munitions of war were secured. Only one thing now remained to be done in order to obtain the control of Lake Champlain: This was to capture a sloop of war, which was then lying at St. Johns, L. C.; to effect which, it was agreed in a council of war, to arm and man out a certain schooner, lying at South Bay, and place Captain, (afterwards General) Arnold, in command of her, while Colonel Allen was to command the batteaux. The necessary preparations being made, they set sail from Ticonderoga, in quest of the Sloop, which was much larger, and carried more, and heavier guns, than the schooner. The schooner sailing much more rapidly than the batteaux, General Arnold arrived at St. Johns and possessed himself of the sloop before the arrival of Col. Allen. He also made prisoners of a sergeant and twelve men, who were stationed at that place. "It is worthy of remark," adds the Narrative; "that as soon as Gen. Arnold had secured the prisoners on board, and made preparations for sailing, the wind, which but a few hours before, was fresh from the South, and well served to carry us to St. Johns,

now shifted, and came fresh from the North; and, in about one hour's time, Gen. Arnold sailed with the prize and schooner for Ticonderoga." He was met, by Col. Allen, within a few miles of St. Johns, and saluted with a discharge of cannon, which was returned with a volley of small arms. After two repetitions of this compliment, the Colonel and his officers went on board the sloop, when several loyal healths were drank to Congress."

The result of this victory was of the utmost consequence to the cause of America, as it utterly destroyed the military force of the British, upon Lake Champlain, and weighed heavily in the balance of public opinion. It cannot be disguised, that the people of the American Colonies embarked in the cause of freedom with many misgivings. They were well aware of their own weakness: and they were equally well apprized of the gigantic power with which they were to contend. The capture, therefore, of Ticonderoga, a strong and well fortified fortress, together with the entire overthrow of the British power upon the Lake, tended to raise their drooping spirits, and create a confidence among them, which was of vast importance to the general cause. First impressions, in every cause, exercise a powerful influence upon succeeding incidents:

and, in proportion to their importance, are their effects to be considered.*

Early in the ensuing fall, the American army, under the command of Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, received orders to ad-

* Commenting upon the success which attended the attack upon Ticonderoga, and the expedition to St. Johns, Col. Allen remarks :

" This success I viewed of consequence in the scale of American politics ; for, if a settlement, between the then Colonies of Great Britain, had soon taken place, it would have been easy to have restored these acquisitions; but viewing the then future consequences, of a civil war, as it has really proved to be, and the command of that Lake, garrisons, artillery, &c., it must be viewed to be of signal importance, to the American cause; and it is marvellous to me that we ever lost the command of it. Nothing but taking a Burgoyne, with a whole British army, could, in my opinion, atone for it : and, notwithstanding such an extraordinary victory, we must be obliged to regain the command of that Lake again, be the cost what it will : By doing this, Canada will easily be brought into union and confederacy with the United States of America. Such an event would put it out of the power of the Western tribes of Indians to carry on a war with us, and be a solid and durable bar against any farther inhuman barbarities, committed on our frontier inhabitants, by cruel and blood-thirsty savages; for, it is impossible for them to carry on a war, except they are supported by the trade and commerce of some civilized nation : which, to them, would be impracticable, did Canada compose a part of the American Empire."

vance into Canada. Col. Allen was at Ticonderoga when this order arrived; and received pressing requests from the Generals, and a majority of the field officers, to accompany the expedition—it being stipulated that, although he held no regular commission from Congress, he should be considered as an officer, and, as occasion might require, command certain detachments of the army. This being considered, by him, an honorable offer, and feeling a desire to assist, to the extent of his power, in any expedition having for its object the good of the country, he complied with the requests, and advanced with the army to *Isle aux Noix*.* From this place, he was ordered, by the General, to accompany Major Brown, and certain interpreters, through the woods into Canada, with letters to the Canadians, informing them that the design of the army was only against the English garrisons, and not the country, their liberties or their religion. Having, with much difficulty, arranged this business, he returned to *Isle aux Noix*, early in September. Gen. Schuyler having returned to Al-

* Isle aux Noix, or Nut Island, is a small Island of about 50 acres, near the North end of Lake Champlain, and within the Province of Lower Canada. Here the British had a garrison of 100 men. It is about 5 miles N. N. E. of the mouth of La Cole River, 20 North of Isle La Motte, and 12 or 15 Southward of St. Johns.

bany, the command devolved upon Gen. Montgomery, from whom Col. Allen soon after received orders to make a second tour into Canada, for the purpose of observing the disposition, designs and movements of the inhabitants. This reconnoitre was undertaken with reluctance by the Colonel; "choosing rather," as he asserts, "to assist at the siege of St. Johns,* which was then closely invested; but my esteem for the General's person, and opinion of him as a *politician*, induced me to proceed."

The route taken by the Colonel, led him through all the parishes on the river Sorrel,† to a parish at its mouth, bearing the same name. The inhabitants were addressed by him, upon the policy of the American Generals, in besieging St. Johns; and every argument used to quiet their fears and enlist their feelings in behalf of the besiegers. From the parish of Sorrel, he directed his course to the river St. Lawrence, and thence through

* St. Johns, is situated on the West bank of the Sorrel River, in Lower Canada, at the North end of Lake Champlain, and twenty eight miles from Montreal.

† Sorrel River is the outlet of Lake Champlain; and, after a course of about 69 miles North, empties into the river St. Lawrence, in North lat. 46, 10, and long. 72, 25 West. Sorrel Fort, built by the French, is at the Western point of the mouth of this river.

the parishes to Longueil, accompanied by a Canadian guard, an interpreter, and a few American attendants. On the morning of the 24th of September, he left Longueil, with a guard of about eighty men, for La Prairie,* from whence it was his determination to proceed directly to Gen. Montgomery's camp. He had not advanced but about two miles, however, before he met with Major Brown, who informed him he had important intelligence to communicate; the import of which was, that provided Col. Allen would return to Longueil, and procure a few canoes, to enable the party to effect a passage across the St. Lawrence, a short distance North of Montreal, he (Major Brown) would cross the river South of the town, with two hundred men, as he had a sufficient number of boats, and thus effect the capture of Montreal.—This plan, although somewhat chimerical and ill-advised, was readily approved by Col. Allen and those in council; in consequence of which, they immediately returned to Longueil—collected a few canoes, and, after adding about thirty men to the party, crossed the river on the night of the 24th, agreeably to the proposed plan. The whole effective force of Col. Allen, consisted only of about

* La Prairie, a populous little village, on the river St. Lawrence, in Lower Canada, eighteen miles North of St. Johns, and nine South West of Montreal.

one hundred and ten men, *about eighty of whom were Canadians.* "We were most of the night," says the Colonel, "in crossing the river; as we had so few canoes that they had to pass and re-pass three times to carry my party across. Soon after day-break, I set a guard between me and the town, with special orders to let no person whatever pass or repass them; and another guard at the other end of the road, with like directions. In the mean time I reconnoitred the best ground to make a defence—expecting Major Brown's party was landed on the other side of the town—he having, the day before, agreed to give three huzzas with his men early in the morning, which signal I was to return, that we might know that both parties were landed. But the sun, by this time, being near two hours high, and the sign failing, I began to conclude myself to be in a sad dilemma; and would have crossed the river back again, but I knew the enemy would discover such an attempt: and, as there could not more than one third part of my troops cross at one time, the other two thirds would, of course, fall into their hands. This I could not reconcile to my own feelings as a man, much less as an officer: I, therefore, concluded to maintain the ground, if possible, and share the fate of the others. In consequence of this resolution, I despatched two messengers—one to La Prairie, to Major

Brown, and the other to L'Assomption, a French settlement, to a Mr. Walker, who was in our interest, requesting speedy assistance, giving them, at the same time, to understand my critical situation. In the mean time, sundry persons came to my guards, pretending to be friends, who were by them taken prisoners, and brought to me. These I ordered to confinement, until their friendship could be farther confirmed; for I was jealous they were spies, as they proved to be afterwards. One of the principal of them, making his escape, exposed the weakness of my party, which was the final cause of my misfortune: for I have since been informed that Mr. Walker, agreeably to desire, exerted himself, and raised a considerable number of men for my assistance; but, hearing of my misfortune, he disbanded them."

The news of the arrival of Col. Allen and his followers, created much excitement and alarm in Montreal. Gen. Carlton, and the royal party, made every preparation to go on board their armed vessels, and would, probably, have done so, had they not been dissuaded by the information derived from the spy, heretofore referred to, who made his escape from the Americans. This occasioned an alteration in their determination, and emboldened Gen. Carlton to send an armed force against the invaders. "I had previously chosen my ground," says Col. Allen,

" but when I saw the number of the enemy, as they sallied out of the town, I perceived it would be a day of trouble, if not of rebuke. But I had no chance to flee: as Montreal is situated on an Island; and the river St. Lawrence cut off my communication with Gen. Montgomery's camp. I encouraged my soldiery to bravely defend themselves—observing that we should soon have help, and that we should be able to keep the ground, if no more. This, and much more, I affirmed with the greatest seeming assurance, and which, in reality, I thought to be in some degree probable.

" The enemy consisted of not more than forty regular troops, together with a mixed multitude, chiefly Canadians, with a number of English who lived in the town, and a few Indians: in all, amounting to about five hundred men.

" The reader will notice that a majority of my party were Canadians: Indeed, it was a motley parcel of soldiery which composed both parties. However, the enemy began the attack from wood piles, ditches, buildings, and such like places, at a considerable distance; and I returned the fire from a situation more than equally advantageous.—The attack began between two and three o'clock, in the afternoon, just before which, I ordered a volunteer, by the name of Richard Young, with a detachment of nine men, as a

flank guard, to annoy the enemy under cover of the bank of the river, and, at the same time, to serve as a flank guard to the left wing of the main body.

"The fire continued for some time, on both sides: and I was confident that such a remote method of attack could not carry the ground, provided it even continued until night. But about half the body of the enemy began to flank round to my right; upon which, I ordered a volunteer, by the name of John Dugan, who had lived many years in Canada, and understood the French language, to detach about fifty of the Canadians, and post himself at an advantageous ditch, which was on my right, to prevent my being surrounded. He advanced with the detachment; but, instead of occupying the post, made his escape, as did, likewise, Mr. Young, upon the left, with their detachments. I soon perceived that they were in possession of the ground, which Dugan should have occupied. At this time I had but about forty-five men with me; some of whom were wounded. The enemy continued to close around me, nor was it in my power to prevent it: by which means, my situation, which was advantageous in the beginning of the attack, ceased to be so at its close. Being almost entirely surrounded with such unequal numbers, I ordered a retreat: but found that those of the enemy, who were of the coun-

try, and their Indians, *could run as fast as my men*, though the regulars could not. Thus I retreated near a mile ; and some of the enmy, with the savages, were continually flanking me, and others crowding hard in the rear. In fine, I expected, in a very short time, to *try the world of spirits :* for I was apprehensive that no quarter would be given to me ; and, therefore, I had determined to sell my life as dearly as I could. One of the enemy's officers, boldly pressing in the rear, discharged his fusee at me. The ball whistled near me, as did many others that day. I returned the salute, and missed him, as running had put us both nearly out of breath ; for I conclude we were *not frightened.* I then saluted him with my tongue, in a harsh manner, and told him, that inasmuch as his numbers were so far superior to mine, I would surrender, provided I could be treated with honor, and be assured of good quarter for myself, and the men who were with me. He answered that I should. Another officer, coming up soon after, confirmed the treaty ; upon which I agreed to surrender, with my party, which then consisted of thirty-one effective men, and some wounded. I ordered them to ground their arms, which they did.

The officer I capitulated with, then directed me and my party to advance towards him, which was done. I handed him my sword ; and, in half a minute after, a savage,

part of whose head was shaved, being almost naked and painted, with feathers intermixed with the hair of the other side of his head, came running towards me with incredible swiftness. He seemed to advance with more than mortal speed. As he approached near me, his hellish visage was beyond all description. Snakes' eyes appear innocent in comparison with his. His features were distorted, and malice, death and murder were depicted upon his countenance ;* and, when within less than twelve feet of me, presented his musket. At the instant of his present, I twitched the officer, to whom I gave my sword, between myself and him.—He flew round, with great fury, trying to single me out to shoot me, without killing the officer; but, by this time, I was near as nimble as he—keeping the officer in such a position, that his danger was my defence. In less than a minute afterwards, I was attacked by just such another imp. I then made the officer fly around with incredible swiftness. One of the Canadians lost an eye, as it appeared afterwards, in taking my part; and, soon after, an Irishman came to my assistance, with a fixed bayonet, and drove away the savages: swearing, by J—s, he would kill them. This tragic scene composed my

* A portion of the description of this "Savage" is omitted.

mind.* The escaping from so awful a death, made even imprisonment happy; the more so, as my conquerors on the field treated me with great civility and politeness.

"The regular officers said they were very happy to see Col. Allen. I answered them, that I should rather chosen to have seen them at Gen. Montgomery's camp. They replied that they gave full credit to what I said; and, I walked into the town, which was, as I should think, a distance of more than two miles--a British officer walking at my right hand, and one of the French *noblesse* at my left. The latter was in the action, and had his eye brow carried away by a glancing shot: but was, nevertheless, very facetious. No abuse was offered me, until I came to the barrack yard, where I met Gen. Prescott, who asked me my name, which I told him. He then asked me whether I was the Col. Allen who took Ticonderoga? I told him I was the very man. He then shook his cane over my head, calling me many hard names; among which he frequently used the word *rebel*, and put himself in a great rage. I told him he would do well not to cane me, as I was not accustomed to it: and *shook my fist at him*, telling him that "that was the *beetle of mortality*," for him, if he of-

* The Colonel was, surely, of a peculiar temperament. Very few men, we apprehend, can gather composure, in a struggle between life and death.

fered to strike; upon which, Capt. M'Cloud, of the British, pulled him by the skirt, and whispered to him, as he afterwards told me, to this import: that it would be inconsistent with his honor to strike a prisoner. He then ordered a sergeant's command, with fixed bayonets, to come forward, and kill thirteen Canadians, which were included in the treaty aforesaid."

The cruelty and manifest injustice of this order, aroused the sensibilities of Col. Allen: "It cut me to the heart," he says, "to see the Canadians in so hard a case, in consequence of their having been true to me; they were wringing their hands, saying their prayers, as I concluded, and expected immediate death. I, therefore, stepped between the executioners and the Canadians, opened my clothes, and told Gen. Prescott to thrust his bayonet into my breast, for I was the sole cause of the Canadians taking up arms.

"The guard, in the mean time, were rolling their eye-balls from the General to me, as though impatiently waiting his dread commands to sheath their bayonets in my heart. I could, however, plainly discern that he was in a suspense and quandary about the matter. This gave me additional hopes of succeeding; for my design was not to die, but save the Canadians by a *finesse*. The General stood a minute, when he made me the following reply: "I will not execute you now;

but you shall grace a halter at Tyburn, G–d d—n you."

"I remember, I disdained his mentioning such a place. I was, notwithstanding, a little pleased with the expression, as it significantly conveyed to me the idea of postponing the present appearance of death; besides his sentence was by no means final, as to "gracing a halter," although I had anxiety about it after I landed in England, as the reader will find in the course of this history. Gen. Prescott then ordered one of his officers to take me on board the Gaspee schooner of war, and confine me, hands and feet, in irons; which was done the same afternoon I was taken.

"The action continued an hour and three quarters, by the watch; and I know not, to this day, how many of my men were killed, though I think there were but few: if I remember right, seven were wounded. One of them, William Stewart, by name, was wounded by a savage with a tomahawk, after he was taken prisoner and disarmed, but was rescued by some of the generous enemy; and so far recovered of his wounds, that he afterwards went with the other prisoners to England.

"Of the enemy were killed, a Major Carden, who had been wounded in eleven different battles, and an eminent merchant, Patterson, of Montreal, and some others; but I

never knew their loss, as their accounts were different. I am apprehensive that it is rare, that so much ammunition was expended, and so little execution done by it; though such of my party, as stood their ground, behaved with great fortitude, much exceeding that of the enemy, but were not the best of marksmen, and, I am apprehensive, were all killed or taken; the wounded were all put into the hospital at Montreal, and those that were not, were put on board of different vessels in the river, and shackled together by pairs, viz: two men fastened together by one hand-cuff, being closely fixed to one wrist of each of them, and treated with the greatest severity, nay as criminals.

"I now come to the description of the irons, which were put on me: The hand-cuff was of a common size, and form, but my leg irons, I should imagine, would weigh thirty pounds. The bar was eight feet long, and very substantial; the shackles, which encompassed my ancles, were very tight. I was told by the officer, who put them on, that it was the King's plate, and I heard other of their officers say, that it would weigh forty weight. The irons were so close upon my ancles, that I could not lie down in any other manner, than on my back. I was put into the lowest and most wretched part of the vessel, where I got the favor of a chest to sit on; the same answered for my bed at

night; and having procured some little blocks of the guard, who, day and night, with fixed bayonets, watched over me, to lie under each end of the large bar of my leg irons, to preserve my ancles from galling, while I sat on the chest, or lay back on the same, though most of the time, night and day, I sat on it; but at length, having a desire to lie down on my side, which the closeness of the irons forbid, I desired the Captain to loosen them for that purpose; but was denied the favor: The Captain's name was Royal, who did not seem to be an ill-natured man; but oftentimes said, that his express orders were to treat me with such severity, which was disagreeable to his own feelings; nor did he ever insult me, though many others, who came on board, did. One of the officers, by the name of Bradley, was very generous to me; he would often send me victuals from his own table; nor did a day fail, but he sent me a good drink of grog.

"The reader is now invited back to the time I was put into irons. I requested the privilege to write to Gen. Prescott, which was granted. I reminded him of the kind and generous manner of my treatment of the prisoners I took at Ticonderoga; the injustice and ungentleman-like usage, which I had met with from him, and demanded gentleman like usage, but received no answer from him. I soon after wrote to Gen. Carlton, which met

the same success. In the mean while, many of those who were permitted to see me, were very insulting.

"I was confined in the manner I have related, on board the Gaspee schooner, about six weeks; during which time I was obliged to throw out plenty of extravagant language, which answered certain purposes, at that time, better than to grace a history.

"To give an instance, upon being insulted, in a fit of anger, I twisted off a nail with my teeth, which I took to be a ten-penny nail; it went through the mortice of the bar of my hand-cuff, and at the same time, I swaggered over those who abused me; particularly a Doctor Dace, who told me that I was outlawed by New York, and deserved death for several years past; was at last fully ripened for the halter, and in a fair way to obtain it: When I challenged him, he excused himself in consequence, as he said, of my being a criminal; but I flung such a flood of language at him, that it shocked him and the spectators, for my anger was very great. I heard one say, "damn him, can he eat iron?" After that a small padlock was fixed to the hand-cuff, instead of the nail; and as they were mean spirited in their treatment to me, so it appeared to me, that they were equally timorous and cowardly."

Col. Allen, with the other prisoners was taken to an armed vessel, which lay off

against Quebec, under the command of Capt. M'Cloud, of the British, who extended towards him the courtesy due from one officer to another, and the kindness due misfortune. In about twenty four hours, however, he reluctantly bade him farewell: But his good fortune still continued. The officer to whose vessel he was transferred (Capt. Littlejohn) was polite, generous and friendly: and the under officers were equally kind in their manners. The best fare of the vessel was at his disposal; and, what was equally gratifying to his feelings, he was permitted to occupy the cabin, untrammelled with his irons. Capt. Littlejohn declaring "that a brave man should not be used as a rascal on board his ship."

The Colonel, in his "*Narrative*," relates the following incident which occurred while he was on board this vessel, which will give the reader an insight into the confidence entertained by the commander for his honour and uprightness, and also shew his willingness at any time, and under any circumstances, to encounter danger:

"Capt. Littlejohn used to go to Qeubec almost every day, in order to pay his respects to certain gentlemen and ladies; being there on a certain day, he happened to meet with some disagreeable treatment, as he imagined, from a Lieut. of a man of war, and one word, brought on another, 'till the Lieut.

challenged him to a duel on the plains of Abraham. Capt. Littlejohn was a gentleman who entertained a high sense of honor, and could do no less than accept the challenge.

"At nine o'clock the next morning, they were to fight. The Capt. returned in the evening, and acquainted his Lieutenant and me with the affair: His Lieutenant was a high blooded Scotchman as well as himself, who replied to his Captain, that he should not want for a second. With this I interrupted him, and gave the Captain to understand, that, since an opportunity had presented, I would be glad to testify my gratitude to him, by acting the part of a faithful second, on which he gave me his hand, and said that he wanted no better man. Says he, I am a King's officer, and you a prisoner under my care; you must, therefore, go with me to the place appointed under disguise, and added farther; "you must engage me upon the honor of a gentleman, that, whether I die or live, or whatever happens, provided you live, that you will return to my Lieutenant, on board this ship." All this I solemnly engaged him. The combatants were to discharge each a pocket pistol, and then to fall on with their iron-hilted muckle whangers; and one of that sort was allotted for me; but some British officers, who interposed early in the morning settled the controversy without fighting."

After enjoying eight or nine days of hap-

piness, from the polite and generous treatment of Capt. Littlejohn and his officers, he parted with them in a friendly manner, and with much regret, on the 11th of November. At the period of his removal, a detachment of Gen. Arnold's army appeared on Point Levi,* opposite Quebec, who had performed an extaordinary march, through the wilderness, with a design to surprise the capital of Canada: and to this fact, perhaps, is to be attributed his change of quarters. He was now removed to a vessel called the "Adamant," together with the other American prisoners, and put under the power of an English merchant, from London, named Brook Watson: a man of malicious and cruel disposition, and much excited in the exercise of his malevolence, by a junto of tories: among whom were Col. Guy Johnson, Col. Closs, and their attendants and associates, to the number of about thirty. The ship's crew, however, with the exception of Col. Closs, in his personal behavior, treated the prisoners with that spirit of bitterness, "which," says Col. Allen, "is the peculiar characteristic of tories, when they have the friends of America in their power—measuring their loyalty to the English King by the barbarity, fraud and deceit which they exercise towards the whigs."

* Levi, a point of land in the river St. Lawrence, opposite the city of Quebec.

A small place in the vessel, enclosed with white-oak plank, was assigned for the prisoners, and for Col. Allen among the rest—it being about twenty feet one way, and twenty two the other. Into this confined place they were all, to the number of thirty-four, thrust, and hand-cuffed. "In this circumference," he observes, "we were obliged to eat and perform the offices of evacuation, during the voyage to England; and were insulted by every black-guard sailor and tory on board, in the cruellest manner; but what is the most surprizing is, that not one of us died in the passage. When I was first ordered to go into the filthy enclosure, through a small sort of door, I positively refused, and endeavoured to reason the before named Brook Watson out of a conduct so derogatory to every sentiment of honor and humanity, but all to no purpose, my men being forced in the den already; and the rascal who had the charge of the prisoners commanded me to go immediately in among the rest: He farther added that the "place was good enough for a rebel—that it was impertinent for a capital offender to talk of honor or humanity; that any thing short of a halter, was too good for me;" and that "that would be my portion, soon after I landed in England; for which purpose, only, I was sent thither." About the same time a Lieutenant among the to-

ries, insulted me in a grievous manner, saying that I "ought to have been executed for my rebellion against New York," and spit in my face; upon which, though I was handcuffed, I sprang at him, with both hands, and knocked him partly down, but he scrambled along into the cabin, and I after him. There he got under the protection of some men with fixed bayonets, who were ordered to make ready to drive me into the place aforementioned. I challenged him to fight, notwithstanding the impediments that were on my hands, and had the exalted pleasure to see the rascal tremble for fear; his name I have forgotten; but Watson ordered his guard to get me into the place with the other prisoners, dead or alive; and I had almost as lief die as do it, standing out till they environed me round with bayonets; and brutish, prejudiced, abandoned wretches they were, from whom I could expect nothing but death or wounds: However, I told them that they were good honest fellows; that I could not blame them; that I was only in dispute with a *calico merchant*, who knew not how to behave towards a gentleman of the military establishment. This I spoke rather to appease them for my own preservation, as well as to treat Watson with contempt; but still I found that they were determined to force me into the wretched circumstances, which their prejudiced and de-

praved minds had prepared for me: Therefore, rather than die, I submitted to their indignities, being drove with bayonets, into the filthy dungeon, with the other prisoners, where we were denied fresh water, except a small allowance, which was very inadequate to our wants; and, in consequence of the stench of the place, each of us was soon followed with a diarrhœa and fever, which occasioned an intolerable thirst. When we asked for water, we were, most commonly, instead of obtaining it, insulted and derided; and, to add to all the horrors of the place, it was so dark that we could not see each other, and were overspread with body lice. We had, notwithstanding these severities, full allowance of salt provisions, and a gill of rum per day; the latter of which was of the utmost service to us, and, probably, was the means of saving several of our lives.—About forty days we existed in this manner, when the land's end of England was discovered from the mast head; soon after which, the prisoners were taken from their gloomy abode, being permitted to see the light of the sun, and breathe fresh air, which to us was very refreshing. The day following we landed at Falmouth.

"A few days before I was taken prisoner, I shifted my clothes, in which I happened to be taken: a Canadian dress, viz: a short fawn skin jacket, double breasted, an under

west and breeches of sagathy, worsted stockings, a decent pair of shoes, two plain shirts and a red worsted cap: This was all the clothing I had, in which I made my appearance in England."

The landing of the prisoners, at Falmouth, created much commotion among the citizens of that place, excited, as they were, by the report that the conqueror of Ticonderoga was among them. Numbers of the people were on the roofs of the houses, and the rising grounds adjacent were covered with both sexes. The throng was so great, that the King's officers were obliged to draw their swords and force a passage to Pendennis castle, which was about a mile from the town, where the prisoners, upon arrival, were closely confined, in consequence of orders from Gen. Carlton, who then commanded in Canada.

Brook Watson, who had so shamefully abused and maltreated the prisoners, immediately set out for London, expecting a reward for his inhumanity: but the Ministry received him with coldness—the minority, (the Whigs) in Parliament arguing that the opposition of the Americans to the power of Great Britain, was not a rebellion; but a measure justified by the numerous evils to which they had been subjected by the oppressive policy of the ministry. "If it be a rebellion," they argued, "why do you not ex-

ecute Col. Allen according to law? Why not give him an impartial trial? Why destroy his life by a course of slow, and rigorous punishment?" The majority (the Tories,) maintained that the opposition of the Americans was really a rebellion,—and that Col. Allen deserved execution; but that *policy* obliged them to spare his life, inasmuch as the Americans were in possession of the greatest number of prisoners! "So that my being sent to England," says Col. Allen, "for the purpose of being executed, and they being restrained, by necessity, from the act, was rather a foil of their laws and authority; and they, consequently, disapproved of my being sent there." The result of their deliberations or the course of their policy, however, never came to the knowledge of Col. Allen, until after his arrival in America.

"The reader will readily conceive," he observes, "that I was anxious about my preservation, knowing that I was in the power of a haughty and cruel nation. Therefore, the first proposition which I determined in my own mind was, that humanity and moral suasion would not be consulted in the determining of my fate; and those that daily came in great numbers, out of curiosity to see me, both gentle and simple, united in this, that I would be hanged. A gentleman from America, by the name of Temple, and who was friendly to me, just whispered me in the ear,

and told me that bets were laid in London, that I would be executed; he likewise privately gave me a guinea, but durst say but little to me.

"However, agreeable to my first negative proposition, that moral virtue would not influence my destiny, I had recourse to stratagem, which I was in hopes would move in the circle of their policy. I requested of the commander of the castle the privilege of writing to Congress, who, after consulting with an officer that lived in town of a superior rank, permitted me to write. I wrote in the fore part of my letter, a short narrative of my ill treatment; but withal let them know that, though I was treated as a criminal in England, and continued in irons, together with those taken with me, yet it was in consequence of the orders which the commander of the castle received from Gen. Carlton; and, therefore, desired Congress to desist from matters of retaliation, till they should know the result of the government in England, respecting their ill treatment towards me, and govern themselves accordingly, with a particular request that if retaliation should be found necessary, it might be exercised not according to the smallness of my character in America, but in proportion to the importance of the cause for which I suffered—This is, according to my present recollection, the substance of the letter, inscribed, "*To the Il-*

lustrious Continental Congress." This letter was written with a view that it should be sent to the ministry at London, rather than to Congress, with a design to intimidate the haughty English Government, and screen my neck from the halter.

"The next day, the officer, from whom I obtained license to write, came to see me, and frowned on me on account of the impudence of the letter, as he phrased it, and farther added, "Do you think that we are fools in England, and would send your letter to Congress, with instructions to retaliate on our own people? I have sent your letter to Lord North." This gave me inward satisfaction, although I carefully concealed it with a pretended resentment, for I found I had come Yankee over him, and that the letter had gone to the identical person I had designed it for. Nor do I know, to this day, but that it had the desired effect, though I have not heard any thing of the letter since.

"My personal treatment by Lieut. Hamilton, who commanded the castle, was very generous. He sent me every day a fine breakfast and dinner from his own table, and a bottle of good wine. Another aged gentleman, whose name I cannot recollect, sent me a good supper: But there was no distinction in public support between me and the privates; we all lodged on a sort of Dutch bunks, in one common apartment, and were

allowed straw. The privates were well supplied with fresh provisions, and with me, took effectual measures to rid themselves of lice.

"I could not but feel, inwardly, extremely anxious for my fate. This I, however, concealed from the prisoners, as well as from the enemy, who were perpetually shaking the halter at me. I, nevertheless, treated them with scorn and contempt: and, having sent my letter to the ministry, could conceive of nothing more in my power, but to keep up my spirits, behave in a daring, soldier-like manner, that I might exhibit a good sample of American fortitude. Such conduct, I judged, would have a more probable tendency to my preservation than concession and timidity. This, therefore, was my deportment; and I had lastly determined, in my own mind, that if a cruel death must inevitably be my portion, I would face it undaunted; and though I greatly rejoice that I have returned to my country and friends, and to see the power and pride of Great Britain humbled; yet I am confident I could then have died without the least appearance of dismay.

"I now clearly recollect that my mind was so resolved, that I would not have trembled or shewn the least fear, as I was sensible it could not alter my fate, nor do more than reproach my memory, make my last act despicable to my enemies, and eclipse the other

actions of my life. For I reasoned thus, that nothing was more common than for men to die with their friends around them, weeping and lamenting over them, but not able to help them, which was, in reality, not different in the consequence of it, from such a death as I was apprehensive of; and, as death was the natural consequence of animal life, to which the laws of nature subject mankind, to be timorous and uneasy as to the event or manner of it, was inconsistent with the character of a philosopher or soldier. The cause I was engaged in, I ever viewed worthy hazarding my life for; nor was I, in the most critical moments of trouble, sorry that I engaged in it: And, as to the world of spirits, though I knew nothing of the mode or manner of it, I expected, nevertheless, when I should arrive at such a world, that I should be as well treated as other gentlemen of my merit.

"Among the great numbers of people, who came to the castle to see the prisoners, some gentlemen told me, that they had come fifty miles on purpose to see me: and desired to ask me a number of questions, and to make free with me in conversation. I gave for my answer, that I chose freedom in every sense of the word: Then one of them asked me what my occupation in life had been? I answered him, that in my younger days, I had studied divinity, but was a conjurer by

profession. He replied, that I conjured wrong at the time I was taken; and I was obliged to own, that I mistook a figue at that time, but that I had conjured them out of Ticonderoga. This was a place of great notoriety in England, so that the joke seemed to go in my favor.

"It was a common thing for me to be taken out of close confinement, into a spacious green in the castle, or rather parade, where numbers of gentlemen and ladies were ready to see and hear me. I often entertained such audiences with harrangues on the impracticability of Great Britain conquering then colonies of America. At one of these times, I asked a gentleman for a bowl of punch, and he ordered his servant to bring it, which he did, and offered it to me: but I refused to take it from the hand of his servant —he then gave it to me with his own hand, refusing to drink with me, in consequence of my being a state criminal: However, I took the punch and drank it all down at one draught, and handed the gentleman the bowl. This made the spectators, as well as myself, merry.

"I expatiated on American freedom: This gained the resentment of a young beardless gentleman of the company, who gave himself very great airs, and replied, that he "knew the Americans very well, and was certain that they could not bear the smell of

powder." I replied, that I accepted it as a challenge, and was ready to convince him on the spot, that an American could bear the smell of powder; at which he answered that he should not put himself on a par with me. I then demanded of him to treat the character of the Americans with due respect. He answered that I was an Irishman; but I assured him, that I was a full blooded Yankee: and, in fine, bantered him so much, that he left me in possession of the ground, and the laugh went against him. Two clergymen came to see me, and, inasmuch as they behaved with civility, I returned them the same: We discoursed on several parts of moral philosophy and christianity; and they seemed to be surprised, that I should be acquainted with such topics, or that I should understand a syllogism, or regular mode of argumentation. I am apprehensive my Canadian dress contributed not a little to the surprise, and excitement of curiosity. To see a gentleman in England, regularly dressed, and well behaved, would be no sight at all; but such a rebel, as they were pleased to call me, it is probable, was never before seen in England.

"The prisoners were landed at Falmouth, a few days before Christmas, and ordered on board the Solebay frigate, Capt. Symonds, the eighth day of January, 1776, when our hand irons were taken off. This remove

was in consequence, as I have been since informed, of a writ of habeas corpus, which had been procured by some gentlemen in England, in order to obtain me my liberty.

"The Solebay, with sundry other men of war, and about forty transports, rendezvoused at the cove of Cork in Ireland, to take in provisions and water.

"When we were first brought on board, Capt. Symonds ordered all the prisoners, and most of the hands on board, to go on the deck, and caused to be read, in their hearing, a certain code of laws, or rules for the regulation and ordering of their behavior; and then, in a sovereign manner, ordered the prisoners, me in particular, off the deck, and never to come on it again; for, said he, this is a place for gentlemen to walk. So I went off, an officer following me, who told me, that he would shew me the place allotted for me, and took me down to the cable tire, saying to me, "this is your place."

"Prior to this, I had taken cold; by which I was in an ill state of health, and did not say much to the officer; but stayed there that night—consulted my policy, and found I was in an evil case; that a Captain of a man of war was more arbitrary than a King, as he could view his territory with a look of his eye, and a movement of his finger commanded obedience. I felt myself more desponding than I had at any time before; for

I concluded it to be a governmental scheme, to do that, clandestinely, which policy forbid to be done under sanction of public justice and law.

"However, two days after, I shaved and cleansed myself as well as I could, and went on deck. The Captain spoke to me in a great rage, and said, "Did I not order you not to come on deck?" I answered him, that at the same time he said, "That it was the place for gentlemen to walk; that I was Col. Allen, but had not been properly introduced to him." He replied, "G–d damn you, sir, be careful not to walk the same side of the deck that I do." This gave me encouragement, and ever after that, I walked in the manner he had directed, except when he, at certain times afterwards, ordered me off in a passion, and I then would directly afterwards go on again, telling him to command his slaves; that I was a gentleman, and had a right to walk the deck; yet when he expressly ordered me off, I obeyed, not out of obedience to him, but to set an example to his ship's crew, who ought to obey him.

"To walk to the windward side of the deck is, according to custom, the prerogative of the Captain of the man of war, though he, oftentimes, nay commonly, walks with his Lieutenants, when no strangers are by: When a Captain of some other man of war, comes on board, the Captains walk to the

windward side, and the other gentlemen to the leeward.

"It was but a few nights I lodged in the cable tire, before I gained an acquaintance with the master of arms: his name was Gillegan, an Irishman, who was a generous and well disposed man, and, in a friendly manner, made me an offer of living with him in a little berth, which was allotted him between decks, and enclosed with canvass; his preferment on board was about equal to that of sergeant in a regiment. I was comparatively happy, in the acceptance of this clemency, and lived with him in friendship, till the frigate anchored in the harbor of Cape Fear, North Carolina, in America.

"Nothing of material consequence happened, while the fleet rendezvoused at the cove of Cork, except a violent storm, which brought old hardy sailors to their prayers. It was rumoured in Cork that I was on board the Solebay, with a number of prisoners from America; upon which Messrs. Clark and Hays, merchants in company, and a number of other benevolently disposed gentlemen, contributed largely to the relief and support of the prisoners, who were thirty four in number, and in very needy circumstances. A suit of clothes, from head to foot, including an over coat, or surtout, and two shirts, were bestowed on each of them. My suit I received in superfine broad cloths, sufficient for

two jackets, and two pairs of breeches, overplus of a suit throughout, eight fine Holland shirts and stocks ready made, with a number of pairs of silk and worsted hose, two pair shoes, two beaver hats, one of which was sent me richly laced with gold, by Mr. James Bonwell. The Irish gentlemen furthermore made a large gratuity of wines, of the best sort, old spirits, Geneva, loaf and brown sugar, coffee, tea and chocolate, with a large round of pickled beef, and a number of fat turkies, with many other articles, for my sea stores, too tedious to mention here. To the privates they bestowed on each man, two pounds of tea, and six pounds of brown sugar. These articles were received on board, at a time when the Captain and first Lieutenant were gone on shore, by permission of the second Lieutenant, a handsome young gentleman, who was then under twenty two years of age; his name was Douglass, the son of Admiral Douglass, as I was informed.

"As this munificence was so unexpected and plentiful, I may add needful, it impressed on my mind the highest sense of gratitude towards my benefactors; for I was not only supplied with the necessaries and conveniences of life, but with the grandeur and superfluities of it. Mr. Hays, one of the donors before mentioned, came on board, and behaved in the most obliging manner, telling me, that he hoped my troubles were past;

for that the gentlemen of Cork determined to make my sea-stores equal to those of the Captain of the Solebay; he made an offer of live stock and wherewith to support them; but I knew this would be denied: And to crown all, did send to me by another person, fifty guineas; but I could not reconcile receiving the whole, to my own feelings, as it might have the appearance of avarice; and, therefore, received seven only; and am confident, not only from the exercise of the present well timed generosity, but from a large acquaintance with gentlemen of this nation, that as a people they excel in liberality and bravery.

"Two days after the receipt of the aforesaid donations, Capt. Symonds came on board, full of envy towards the prisoners, and swore by all that is good, that the d—d American rebels should not be feasted at this rate, by the d—d rebels of Ireland; he, therefore, took away all my liquors before mentioned, except some of the wine which was secreted, and a two gallon jug of old spirits, which was reserved for me, per favor of Lieutenant Douglass. The taking of my liquors was abominable in his sight; he, therefore, spoke in my behalf, till the Captain was angry with him; and, in consequence, proceeded and took away all the tea and sugar, which had been given to the prisoners, and confiscated it to the use of the ship's

crew. Our clothing was not taken away, but the privates were forced to do duty on board. Soon after this there came a boat to the side of the ship, and Capt. Symonds asked a gentleman who was in it, in my hearing, what his business was? who answered that he was sent to deliver some sea-stores to Col. Allen, which, if I remember right, he said were sent from Dublin; but the Captain damned him heartily, ordered him away from the ship, and would not suffer him to deliver the stores. I was furthermore informed that the gentlemen in Cork requested of Capt. Symonds, that I might be allowed to come into the city, and that they would be responsible I should return to the frigate at a given time, which was denied them.

"We sailed from England the 8th day of January, and from the cove of Cork the 12th day of February. Just before we sailed, the prisoners with me were divided, and put on board three different ships of war. This gave me some uneasiness, for they were to a man zealous in the cause of liberty, and behaved with a becoming fortitude in the various scenes of their captivity; but those, who were distributed on board other ships of war, were much better used than those who tarried with me, as appeared afterwards. When the fleet, consisting, of about forty five sail, including five men of war, sailed from the cove with a fresh breeze, the ap-

pearance was beautiful, abstracted from the unjust and bloody designs they had in view. We had not sailed many days, before a mighty storm arose, which lasted near twenty four hours without intermission: The wind blew with relentless fury, and no man could remain on deck, except he was lashed fast, for the waves rolled over the deck by turns, with a forcible rapidity, and every soul on board was anxious for the preservation of the ship, and their lives. In this storm, the Thunder-bomb man of war sprang a leak, and was afterwards floated to some part of the coast of England, and the crew saved. We were then said to be in the bay of Biscay. After the storm abated, I could plainly discern that the prisoners were better used for some considerable time.

"Nothing of consequence happened after this, till we had sailed to the island of Madeira, except a certain favor which I received of Capt. Symonds, in consequence of an application I made to him, for the privilege of his tailor to make me a suit of clothes of the cloth bestowed on me in Ireland, which he generously granted. I could then walk the deck with a seeming better grace. When we had reached Madeira, and anchored, sundry gentlemen with the Captain, went on shore, who, I conclude, gave the rumor that I was in the frigate; upon which I soon after found Irish generosity was again excited;

for a gentleman of the nation sent his clerk on board, to know of me if I would accept a sea-store from him, particularly of wine.—This matter I made known to the generous Lieut. Douglass, who readily granted me the favor, provided the articles could be brought on board, during the time of his command; adding that it would be a pleasure to him to serve me, notwithstanding the opposition he met with before: So I directed the gentleman's clerk to inform him, that I was greatly in need of so signal a charity, and desired the young gentleman to make the utmost dispatch, which he did; but, in the mean time, Capt. Symonds and his officers came on board, and immediately made ready for sailing; the wind at the same time being fair, we set sail, when the young gentleman was in fair sight with the aforesaid store.

"The reader will doubtless recollect the seven guineas I received at the cove of Cork: These enabled me to purchase of the purser what I wanted, had not the Captain strictly forbidden it, though I made sundry applications to him for that purpose; but his answer to me, when I was sick, was, that it was no matter how soon I was dead, and that he was nowise anxious to preserve the lives of rebels, but wished them all dead; and, indeed, that was the language of most of the ship's crew. I expostulated not only with the Captain, but with other gentlemen on

board, on the unreasonableness of such usage; inferring that, inasmuch as the government in England did not proceed against me as a capital offender, they should not; for that they were by no means empowered by any authority, either civil or military, to do so; for the English government had acquitted me by sending me back a prisoner of war to America, and that they should treat me as such. I farther drew an inference of impolicy on them, provided they should, by hard usage, destroy my life; inasmuch as I might, if living, redeem one of their officers; but the Captain replied, that he needed no directions of mine, how to treat a rebel; that the British would conquer the American rebels, hang the Congress, and such as promoted the rebellion, me in particular, and retake their own prisoners; so that my life was of no consequence in the scale of their policy. I gave him for answer, that if they stayed till they conquered America, before they hanged me, *I should die of old age*, and desired that till such an event should take place, he would at least allow me to purchase of the purser, for my own money, such articles as I greatly needed; but he would not permit it; and when I reminded him of the generous and civil usage that their prisoners in captivity met with, he said that it was not owing to their goodness, but to their timidity; for, said he, they expect to be conquered, and

therefore dare not misuse our prisoners; and in fact this was the language of the British officers, till Gen. Burgoyne was taken;* happy event! and not only of the officers, but of the whole British army. I appeal to all my brother prisoners, who have been with the British in the southern department, for a confirmation of what I have advanced on this subject. The surgeon of the Solebay, whose name was North, was a very humane,

* It was the plan of the British Generals, to push a body of troops from New York, to join Gen. Burgoyne at Albany, and by establishing a line of British posts on the Hudson, to intercept the intercourse between the New England and southern states. While Gen. Burgoyne was attempting to advance towards Albany, Gen. Clinton with a force of three thousand men, took possession of Fort Montgomery, after severe loss. Gen. Vaughan, with a body of troops, on board of armed ships, sailed up the Hudson, as far as Livingston's Manor, where he landed a party, burnt a large house belonging to one of the family; then sent a party to the opposite shore, and laid in ashes the town of Kingston. But Gen. Burgoyne, despairing of the junction between his army and the division from New York, surrounded by a superior army, and unable to retreat, consented to capitulate, and on the 17th of October surrendered to the American General. The detachment under Gen. Vaughan returned to New York, and the plan of the British commanders was totally frustrated.

Webster's Elements.

obliging man, and took the best care of the prisoners who were sick.

"The third day of May, we cast anchor in the harbor of Cape Fear,* in North Carolina, as did Sir Peter Parker's ship of fifty guns, a little back of the bar; for there was no depth of water for him to come into the harbor: These two men of war, and fourteen sail of transports and others, came after, so that most of the fleet rendezvoused at cape Fear for three weeks. The soldiers on board the transports were sickly, in consequence of so long a passage; add to this, the small pox carried off many of them:— They landed on the main, and formed a camp; but the riflemen annoyed them, and caused them to move to an island in the harbor; but such cursing of riflemen I never heard.

"A detachment of regulars was sent up Brunswick river; as they landed, they were fired on by those marksmen, and they came

* Cape Fear is the southern point of Smith's Island, which divides the mouth of Cape Fear river into two channels, on the coast of North Carolina; S. W. of Cape Look Out, and remarkable for a dangerous shoal called the Frying Pan, from its form. A light house stands at the mouth of the river. It bears W. N. W. from the point of the Cape, four miles distant. Near this cape is Johnson's Fort, in Brunswick county, and district of Wilmington. North latitude 33, 32— west longitude 78, 25

Morse's Gazetteer.

back next day, damning the rebels for their unmanly way of fighting, and swearing that they would give no quarter, for they took sight at them, and were behind timber, skulking about. One of the detachments said they lost one man; but a negro man, who was with them, and heard what was said, soon after, told me that he helped to bury thirty-one of them: This did me some good to find my countrymen giving them battle; for I never heard such swaggering as among Gen. Clinton's little army, who commanded at that time; and I am apt to think there were four thousand men, though not two thirds of them fit for duty. I heard numbers of them say, that the trees in America should hang well with fruit that campaign, for they would give no quarter: This was in the mouths of most who I heard speak on the subject, officer as well as soldier. I wished at that time, my countrymen knew, as well as I did, what a murdering and cruel enemy they had to deal with; but experience has since taught this country, what they are to expect at the hands of Britons, when in their power.

"The prisoners, who had been sent on board different men of war, at the cove of Cork, were collected together, and the whole of them put on board the Mercury frigate, Capt. Montague, except one of the Canadians, who died on the passage from Ireland,

and Peter Noble, who made his escape from the Sphynx man of war, in this harbor, and, by extraordinary swimming, got safe home to New England, and gave intelligence of the usage of his brother prisoners. The Mercury set sail from this port for Halifax, about the 20th of May, and Sir Peter Parker was about to sail with the land forces, under the command of Gen. Clinton, for the reduction of Charleston, in South Carolina, and when I heard of his defeat in Halifax, it gave me inexpressible satisfaction.

"I now found myself under a worse Captain than Symonds; for Montague was loaded with prejudices against every body, and every thing that was not stamped with royalty; and, being by nature underwitted, his wrath was heavier than the others, or at least his mind was in no instance liable to be diverted by good sense, humour or bravery, of which Symonds was, by turns, susceptible. A Capt. Frances Proctor was added to our number of prisoners, when we were first put on board this ship: This gentleman had formerly belonged to the English service.—The Captain, and, in fine, all the gentlemen of the ship, were very much incensed against him, and put him in irons without the least provocation, and he was continued in this miserable situation about three months. In this passage, the prisoners were infected with the scurvy, some more and some less, but

most of them severely. The ship's crew was to a great degree troubled with it, and I concluded it was catching: Several of the crew died with it on their passage. I was weak and feeble in consequence of so long and cruel a captivity, yet had but little of the scurvy.

"The purser was again expressly forbid by the Captain to let me have any thing out of his store; upon which I went on deck, and, in the handsomest manner, requested the favor of purchasing a few necessaries of the purser, which was denied me; he farther told me, that I should be hanged as soon as I arrived at Halifax. I tried to reason the matter with him, but found him proof against reason; I also held up his honor to view, and his behavior to me and the prisoners in general, as being derogatory to it, but found his honor impenetrable. I then endeavored to touch his humanity, but found he had none; for his prepossession of bigotry to his own party, had confirmed him in an opinion, that no humanity was due to unroyalists, but seemed to think that heaven and earth were made merely to gratify the King and his creatures. He uttered many unintelligible and grovelling ideas, a little tinctured with Monarchy, but stood well to his text of hanging me. He afterwards forbade his surgeon to administer any help to the sick prisoners. I was every night shut down in the cable tire, with the rest of the prisoners, and we all liv-

ed miserably while under his power: But I received some generosity from several of the midshipmen, who, in a degree, alleviated my misery; one of their names was Putrass—the names of the others I do not recollect; but they were obliged to be private in the bestowment of their favor, which was sometimes good wine bitters, and at others, a generous drink of grog.

"Some time in the first week of June, we came to anchor at the Hook off New York, where we remained but three days; in which time Gov. Tryon, Mr. Kemp, the old attorney general of New York, and several other perfidious and over-grown tories and land-jobbers, came on board. Tryon viewed me with a stern countenance, as I was walking on the leeward side of the deck, with the midshipmen; and he and his companions were walking with the Captain and Lieutenant, on the windward side of the same, but never spoke to me, though it is altogether probable that he thought of the old quarrel between him, the old government of New-York and the Green Mountain Boys: They went with the Captain into the cabin, and the same afternoon returned on board a vessel which lay near the Hook, where, at that time, they took sanctuary from the resentment of their injured country. What passed between the officers of the ship and these visitors, I know not; but this I know, that my treatment from

the principal officers was more severe afterwards.

"We arrived at Halifax not far from the middle of June, where the ship's crew, which was infected with the scurvy, were taken on shore, and shallow trenches dug, into which they were put, and partly covered with earth. Indeed every proper measure was taken for their relief: The prisoners were not permitted any sort of medicine, but were put on board a sloop which lay in the harbor, near the town of Halifax, surrounded with several men of war and their tenders, and a guard constantly set over them, night and day.—The sloop we had wholly to ourselves, except the guard, who occupied the forecastle; here we were cruelly pinched with hunger; it seemed to me that we had not more than one third of the common allowance: We were all seized with violent hunger and faintness; we divided our scanty allowance as exact as possible. I shared the same fate with the rest; and, though they offered me more than an even share, I refused to accept it, as it was a time of substantial distress, which, in my opinion, I ought to partake equally with the rest, and set an example of virtue and fortitude to our little commonwealth.

"I sent letter after letter to Capt. Montague, who still had the care of us, and also to his Lieutenant, whose name I cannot call to

mind, but could obtain no answer, much less a redress of grievances; and, to add to the calamity, near a dozen of the prisoners were dangerously ill of the scurvy. I wrote private letters to the doctors, to procure, if possible, some remedy for the sick, but in vain. The chief physician came by in a boat, so close that the oars touched the sloop we were in, and I uttered my complaint in the genteelest manner to him, but he never so much as turned his head, or made me any answer, though I continued speaking till he was out of hearing. Our cause then become very deplorable. Still I kept writing to the Captain, till he ordered the guards, as they told me, not to bring any more letters from me to him. In the mean time, an event happened worth relating: One of the men, almost dead of the scurvy, lay by the side of the sloop, and, a canoe of Indians coming by, he purchased two quarts of strawberries, and ate them at once, and it almost cured him. The money he gave for them, was all the money he had in the world. After that we tried every way to procure more of that fruit, reasoning from analogy that they might have the same effect on others infected with the same disease, but could obtain none.

"Meanwhile the Doctor's mate of the Mercury, came privately on board the prison sloop, and presented me with a large vial of smart drops, which proved to be good for the

scurvy, though vegetables and some other ingredients were requisite for a cure; but the drops gave at least a check to the disease. This was a well-timed exertion of humanity, but the doctor's name has slipped my mind, and in my opinion, it was the means of saving the lives of several men.

"The guard, which was set over us, was by this time touched with the feelings of compassion; and I finally trusted one of them with a letter of complaint to Gov. Arbuthnot, of Halifax, which he found means to communicate, and which had the desired effect; for the Governor sent an officer and surgeon on board the prison sloop, to know the truth of the complaint. The officer's name was Russel, and held the rank of Lieutenant, and treated me in a friendly and polite manner, and was really angry at the cruel and unmanly usage the prisoners met with; and, with the surgeon, made a true report of matters to Gov. Arbuthnot, who, either by his order or influence, took us next day from the prison sloop to Halifax gaol, where I first became acquainted with the now Hon. James Lovel, one of the members of Congress, for the state of Massachusetts-Bay. The sick were taken to the hospital, and the Canadians, who were effective, were employed in the King's works; and when their countrymen were recovered from the scurvy and joined them, they all deserted the King's em-

ploy, and were not heard of at Halifax, as long as the remainder of the prisoners continued there, which was till near the middle of October. We were on board the prison-sloop about six weeks, and were landed at Halifax near the middle of August. Several of our English American prisoners, who were cured of the scurvy at the hospital, made their escape from thence, and after a long time, reached their old habitations.

"I had now but thirteen with me, of those who were taken in Canada, and remained in gaol with me in Halifax, who, in addition to those that were imprisoned before, made our number about thirty four, who were all locked up in one common large room, without regard to rank, education, or any other accomplishment, where we continued from the setting to the rising sun; and, as sundry of them were infected with the gaol and other distempers, the furniture of this spacious room consisted principally of excrement tubs. We petitioned for a removal of the sick into the hospitals, but were denied. We remonstrated against the ungenerous usage of being confined with the privates, as being contrary to the laws and customs of nations, and particularly ungrateful in them, in consequence of the gentleman-like usage which the British imprisoned officers met with in America; and thus we wearied ourselves, petitioning and remonstrating, but to no pur-

pose at all . for General Massey, who commanded at Halifax, was as inflexible as the d—l himself; a fine preparative this. for Mr. Lovel, member of the Continental Congress.

"Lieut. Russel, whom I have mentioned before, came to visit me in prison, and assured me that he had done his utmost to procure my parole for enlargement; at which a British Captain, who was then the town-major, expressed compassion for the gentlemen confined in the filthy place, and assured me that he had used his influence to procure their enlargement; his name was near like Ramsay. Among the prisoners there were five in number, who had a legal claim to a parole, viz: James Lovel, Esq., Capt. Francis Proctor, a Mr. Howland, master of a Continental armed vessel, a Mr. Taylor, his mate, and myself.

"As to the article of provision, we were well served, much better than in any part of my captivity; and, since it was Mr. Lovel's misfortune and mine, to be prisoners, and in so wretched circumstances, I was happy that we were together, as a mutual support to each other, and to the unfortunate prisoners with us. Our first attention was the preservation of ourselves and injured little republic; the rest of our time we devoted interchangeably to politics and philosophy, as patience was a needful exercise in so evil a sit-

uation, but contentment mean and impracticable.

"I had not been in this gaol many days, before a worthy and charitable woman, Mrs. Blacden, by name, supplied me with a good dinner of fresh meats every day, with garden fruit, and sometimes with a bottle of wine; notwithstanding which, I had not been more than three weeks in the place, before I lost all appetite to the most delicious food, as also did sundry of the prisoners, particularly a sergeant Moore, a man of courage and fidelity: I have several times seen him hold the boatswain of the Solebay frigate, when he attempted to strike him, and laughed him out of conceit of using him as a slave.

"A doctor visited the sick, and did the best as I suppose, he could for them, to no apparent purpose. I grew weaker and weaker, as did the rest. Several of them could not help themselves. At last I reasoned in my own mind, that raw onions would be good: I made use of it, and found immediate relief by it, as did the sick in general, particularly sergeant Moore, whom it recovered almost from the shades. Though I had met with a little revival, still I found the malignant hand of Britain had greatly reduced my constitution with stroke upon stroke. Esquire Lovel and myself used every argument and entreaty that could be well conceived of, in order to obtain gentleman-like usage, to no pur-

pose. I then wrote Gen. Massey as severe a letter as I possibly could, with my friend Lovel's assistance: The contents of it were to give the British, as a nation, and him as an individual, their true character. This roused the rascal, for he could not bear to see his and the nation's deformity in that transparent letter, which I sent him; he, therefore, put himself in a great rage about it, and shewed the letter to a number of British officers, particularly to Capt. Smith, of the Lark frigate, who, instead of joining with him in disapprobation, commended the spirit of it; upon which Gen. Massey said to him, "do you take the part of a rebel against me?" Capt. Smith answered, that he rather spoke his sentiments, and there was a dissension in opinion between them. Some officers took the part of the General, and others of the Captain: This I was informed of by a gentleman who had it from Capt. Smith.

"In a few days after this, the prisoners were ordered to go on board of a man of war, which was bound for New York; but two of them were not able to go on board, and were left at Halifax; one died, and the other recovered. This was about the 20th of October, and soon after we had got on board, the Captain sent for me in particular, to come on the quarter deck: I went, not knowing that it was Capt. Smith, or his ship at that time, and expected to meet the same rigorous us-

age I had commonly met with, and prepared my mind accordingly; but when I came on deck, the Captain met me with his hand, welcomed me to his ship, invited me to dine with him that day, and assured me that I should be treated as a gentleman, and that he had given orders, that I should be treated with respect by the ship's crew. This was so unexpected and sudden a transition, that it drew tears from my eyes, which all the ill usage I had before met with, was not able to produce, nor could I at first hardly speak, but soon recovered myself and expressed my gratitude for so unexpected a favor; and let him know that I felt anxiety of mind in reflecting that his situation and mine was such, that it was not probable that it would ever be in my power to return the favor. Capt. Smith replied, that he had no reward in view, but only treated me as a gentleman ought to be treated; he said "this is a mutable world, and one gentleman never knows but that it may be in his power to help another." Soon after, I found this to be the same Capt. Smith who took my part against Gen. Massey; but he never mentioned any thing of it to me, and I though it impolite in me to interrogate him, as to any disputes which might have arisen between him and the General on my account, as I was a prisoner, and that it was at his option to make free with me on the subject, if he pleased; and, if he did not, I might

take it for granted that it would be unpleasant for me to query about it, though I had a strong propensity to converse with him on that subject.

"I dined with the Captain agreeable to his invitation, and oftentimes with the Lieutenant, in the gun room, but in general ate and drank with my friend Lovel and the other gentlemen, who were prisoners with me, where I also slept.

"We had a little berth enclosed with canvass, between decks, where we enjoyed ourselves very well, in hopes of an exchange; besides, our friends at Halifax, had a little notice of our departure, and supplied us with spirituous liquor, and many articles of provision for the cost. Capt. Burk, having been taken prisoner, was added to our company, (he had commanded an American armed vessel) and was generously treated by the Captain, and all the officers of the ship, as well as myself. We now had in all, near thirty prisoners on board, and as we were sailing along the coast, if I recollect right, off Rhode Island, Capt. Burke, with an under officer of the ship, whose name I do not recollect, came to our little berth, proposed to kill Captain Smith and the principal officers of the frigate and take it; adding that there were thirty five thousand pounds sterling in the same. Captain Burke likewise averred that a strong party out of the ship's crew was in the con-

spiracy, and urged me, and the gentleman that was with me, to use our influence with the private prisoners to execute the design, and take the ship with the cash into one of our own ports.

"Upon which I replied, that we had been too well used on board, to murder the officers —that I could by no means reconcile it to my conscience, and that in fact it should not be done; and, while I was yet speaking, my friend Lovel confirmed what I had said, and farther pointed out the ungratefulness of such an act; that it did not fall short of murder; and in fine, all the gentlemen in the berth opposed Capt. Burk and his colleague: But they strenuously urged that the conspiracy would be found out, and that it would cost them their lives, provided they did not execute their design. I then interposed spiritedly, and put an end to farther argument on the subject, and told them that they might depend upon it, upon my honor, that I would faithfully guard Capt. Smith's life: If they should attempt the assault, I would assist him, for they desired me to remain neutral; and that the same honor that guarded Capt. Smith's life, would guard theirs; and it was agreed by those present, not to reveal the conspiracy, to the intent that no man should be put to death, in consequence of what had been projected; and Capt. Burk and his colleague went to stifle the matter among their

associates. I could not help calling to mind what Capt. Smith said to me, when I first came on board: "This is a mutable world, and one gentleman never knows but that it may be in his power to help another." Capt. Smith and his officers still behaved with their usual courtesy, and I never heard any more of the conspiracy."

The vessel arrived before New York, and cast anchor, the latter part of October; and during the period of its stay, which was only a few days, Capt. Smith informed Col. Allen, that he had recommended him to Admiral Howe and Gen. Sir William Howe, as a gentleman of honor and veracity; and desired they might treat him as such. Capt. Burk was ordered on board a prison ship in the harbor; and Col. Allen, with the other prisoners, to a transport ship, commanded by Capt. Craige, who received him into the cabin with himself and officers. "I fared," says the Colonel, "as they did, and was, in every respect, well treated, in consequence of directions from Capt. Smith. In a few weeks after this, I had the happiness to part with my friend Lovel, for his sake, whom the enemy affected to treat as a private; he was a gentleman of merit, and liberally educated, but had no commission; they maligned him on account of his unshaken attachment to the cause of his country. He was exchanged for a Gov. Phillip Skene, of the British.

I was continued in this ship till the latter part of November, where I contracted an acquaintance with a Captain of the British; his name has slipped my memory. He was what we may call a genteel, hearty fellow. I remember an expression of his over a bottle of wine, to this import: "That there is greatness of soul for personal friendship to subsist between you and me, as we are upon opposite sides, and may, at an other day, be obliged to face each other in the field." I am confident that he was as faithful as any officer in the British army. At another sitting he offered to bet a dozen of wine, that Fort Washington would be in the hands of the British in three days. I stood the bet, and would, had I known that that would have been the case, and the third day afterwards, we heard a prodigious heavy cannonade, and that day the fort was taken, sure enough.—Some months after, when I was on parole, he called upon me with his usual humour, and mentioned the bet. I acknowledged I had lost it, but he said he did not mean to take it then, as I was a prisoner; that he would, another day, call on me, when their army came to Bennington. I replied, that he was quite too generous, as I had fairly lost it: besides, the Green Mountain Boys would not suffer them to come to Bennington. This was all in good humor. I should have been glad to have seen him after the defeat at Benning-

ton, but did not. It was customary for a guard to attend the prisoners, which was often changed. One was composed of tories, from Connecticut, in the vicinity of Fairfield and Green Farms. The sergeant's name was Hoit. They were very full of their invectives against the country, swaggered of their loyalty to their King, and exclaimed bitterly against the "cowardly yankees," as they were pleased to term them, but finally contented themselves with saying that, when the country was overcome, they should be well rewarded for their loyalty, out of the estates of the whigs, which would be confiscated. This I found to be the general language of tories, after I arrived from England on the American coast. I heard sundry of them relate, that the British Generals had engaged them an ample reward for all their losses, disappointments and expenditures, out of the forfeited rebels' estates. This language early taught me what to do with tories' estates, as far as my influence can go. For it is really a game of hazard between whig and tory.—The whigs must inevitably have lost all, in consequence of the abilities of the tories, and their good friends, the British ; and it is no more than right the tories should run the same risk, in consequence of the abilities of the whigs : But of this, more will be observed in the sequel of this narrative.

"Some of the last days of November, the

prisoners were landed at New York, and I was admitted to parole, with the other officers, viz: Procter, Howland and Taylor.—The privates were put into the filthy churches in New York, with the distressed prisoners that were taken at Fort Washington; and the second night, sergeant Roger Moore, who was bold and enterprising, found means to make his escape, with every of the remaining prisoners that were taken with me, except three, who were soon after exchanged: So that, out of thirty one prisoners, who went with me the round exhibited in these sheets, two only died with the enemy, and three only were exchanged; one of whom died after he came within our lines; all the rest, at different times, made their escape from the enemy.

"I now found myself on parole, and restricted to the limits of the city of New York, where I soon projected means to live in some measure agreeable to my rank, though I was destitute of cash. My constitution was almost worn out by such a long and barbarous captivity. The enemy gave out that I was crazy, and wholly unmanned; but my vitals held sound, nor was I delirious any more than I have been from my youth up; but my extreme circumstances, at certain times, rendered it politic to act, in some measure, the madman; and, in consequence of a regular diet and exercise, my blood recruited, and

my nerves in a great measure recovered their former tone, strength and usefulness, in the course of six months.

"I next invite the reader to a retrospective sight and consideration of the doleful scene of inhumanity, exercised by Gen. Sir William Howe, and the army under his command, towards the prisoners taken on Long Island, on the 27th day of August, 1776; sundry of whom, were, in an inhuman and barbarous manner, murdered after they had surrendered their arms; particularly a Gen. Odel, or Woodhull, of the militia, who was hacked to pieces with cutlasses, when alive, by the light horsemen, and a Capt. Fellows of the Continental army, who was thrust through with a bayonet, of which wound he died instantly.

"Sundry others were hanged up by the neck, till they were dead; five on the limb of a white oak tree, and without any reason assigned, except that they were fighting in defence of the only blessing worth preserving: And, indeed, those who had the misfortune to fall into their hands at Fort Washington, in the month of November following, met with but very little better usage, except that they were reserved from immediate death to famish and die with hunger; in fine, the word rebel, applied to any vanquished persons, without regard to rank, who were in the continental service, on the 27th of August aforesaid, was thought, by the enemy, sufficient

to sanctify whatever cruelties they were pleased to inflict, death itself not excepted; but to pass over particulars, which would swell my narrative far beyond my design.

"The private soldiers, who were brought to New York, were crowded into churches, and environed with slavish Hessian guards, a people of a strange language, who were sent to America, for no other design but cruelty and desolation; and at others, by merciless Britons, whose mode of communicating ideas being intelligible in this country served only to tantalize and insult the helpless and perishing; but, above all, the hellish delight and triumph of the tories over them, as they were dying by hundreds: This was too much for me to bear as a spectator; for I saw the tories exulting over the dead bodies of their murdered countrymen. I have gone into the churches, and seen sundry of the prisoners in the agonies of death, in consequence of very hunger, and others speechless, and near death, biting pieces of chips; others pleading for God's sake, for something to eat, and at the same time, shivering with the cold.—Hollow groans saluted my ears, and despair seemed to be imprinted on every of their countenances. The filth of these churches, in consequence of the fluxes, was almost beyond description. The floors were covered with excrements. I have carefully sought to direct my steps so as to avoid it, but could

not. They would beg for God's sake, for one copper, or morsel of bread. I have seen in one of these churches, seven dead, at the same time, lying among the excrements of their bodies.

"It was a common practice with the enemy, to convey the dead from these filthy places, in carts, to be slightly buried; and I have seen whole gangs of tories making derision, and exulting over the dead, saying, "there goes another load of d—d rebels." I have observed the British soldiers to be full of their black-guard jokes, and vaunting on those occasions; but they appeared to me less malignant than tories.

"The provisions dealt out to the prisoners, was by no means sufficient for the support of life: It was deficient in quantity, and much more so in quality. The prisoners often presented me with a sample of their bread, which I certify, was damaged to that degree, that it was loathsome, and unfit to be eaten, and I am bold to aver it, as my opinion, that it had been condemned, and was of the very worst sort. I have seen and been fed upon damaged bread, in the course of my captivity. and observed the quality of such bread as has been condemned by the enemy, among which was very little so effectually spoiled as that which was dealt out to these prisoners. Their allowance of meat (as they told me) was quite trifling, and of the basest sort. I

never saw any of it, but was informed, bad as it was, it was swallowed almost as quick as they got hold of it. I saw some of them sucking bones after they were speechless; others, who could yet speak, and had the use of their reason, urged me in the strongest and most pathetic manner, to use my interest in their behalf; "for you plainly see," said they, "that we are devoted to death and destruction;" and, after I had examined more particularly into their truly deplorable condition, and had become more fully appriz-ed of the essential facts, I was persuaded that it was a premeditated and systematical plan of the British council, to destroy the youths of our land, with a view thereby to de-ter the country, and make it submit to their despotism; but that I could not do them any material service, and that, by any public at-tempt for that purpose, I might endanger myself by frequenting places the most nau-seous and contagious that could be conceiv-ed of. I refrained going into the churches, but frequently conversed with such of the prisoners as were admitted to come out into the yard, and found that the systematical usage still continued. The guard would oft-en drive me away, with their fixed bayonets. A Hessian one day followed me five or six rods, but by making use of my legs, I got rid of the lubber. Sometimes I could obtain a

little conversation, notwithstanding their severities.

"I was in one of the church yards, and it was rumoured among those in the church, and sundry of the prisoners came with their usual complaints to me, and among the rest, a large boned, tall young man, as he told me, from Pennsylvania, who was reduced to a mere skeleton. He said he was glad to see me before he died, which he expected to have done last night, but was a little revived; he farthermore informed me, that he and his brother had been urged to enlist into the British service, but had both resolved to die first; that his brother had died last night, in consequence of that resolution, and that he expected shortly to follow him; but I made the other prisoners stand a little off, and told him, with a low voice, to enlist. He then asked, whether it was right in the sight of God? I assured him that it was, and that duty to himself obliged him to deceive the British by enlisting, and deserting the first opportunity; upon which he answered with transport, that he would enlist. I charged him not to mention my name, as his adviser, lest it should get air, and I should be closely confined, in consequence of it. The integrity of these suffering prisoners, is hardly credible. Many hundreds, I am confident, submitted to death, rather than enlist in the British service, which, I am informed, they

most generally were pressed to do. I was astonished at the resolution of the brothers particularly. It seems that they could not be stimulated to such exertions of heroism from ambition, as they were but obscure soldiers; strong, indeed, must the internal principle of virtue be, which supported them to brave death, and one of them went through the operation, as did many hundred others. I readily grant that instances of public virtue are no excitement to the sordid and vicious; nor, on the other hand, will all the barbarity of Britain and Heshland* awaken them to a sense of their duty to the public; but these things will have their proper effect on the generous and brave. The officers on parole were most of them zealous, if possible, to afford the miserable soldiery relief, and often consulted with one another on the subject, but to no effect, being destitute of the means of subsistence, which they needed.—Nor could the officers project any measure, which they thought would alter their fate, or so much as be a mean of getting them out of those filthy places, to the privilege of fresh air. Some projected that all the officers should go in procession to Gen. Howe, and plead the cause of the perishing soldiers; but this proposal was negatived, for the fol-

* Meant for Hesse, in Germany. These troops were what were called mercenaries; being in the pay a foreign power.

lowing reasons, viz: Because that Gen. Howe must needs be well acquainted, and have a thorough knowledge of the state and condition of the prisoners, in every of their wretched apartments, and that much more particular and exact than any officer on parole could be supposed to have, as the General had a return of the circumstances of the prisoners, by his own officers, every morning, of the number which were alive, as also the number which died every twenty four hours; and consequently the bill of mortality, as collected from the daily returns, lay before him, with all the material situations and circumstances of the prisoners; and, provided the officers should go in procession to Gen. Howe, according to the projection, it would give him the greatest affront, and that he would either retort upon them, that it was no part of their parole, to instruct him in his conduct to prisoners; that they were mutinying against his authority, and, by affronting him, had forfeited their parole; or that, more probably, instead of saying one word to them, would order them all into as wretched a confinement as the soldiers, whom they sought to relieve; for, at that time, the British, from the General to the private centinel, were in full confidence, nor did they so much hesitate, but that they should conquer the country. Thus the consultation of the officers was confounded and broken to pieces,

in consequence of the dread, which at that time lay on their minds, of offending Gen. Howe; for they conceived so murderous a tyrant would not be too good to destroy even the officers, on the least pretence of an affront, as they were equally in his power with the soldiers; and, as Gen. Howe perfectly understood the condition of the private soldiers, it was argued that it was exactly such as he and his council had devised, and as he meant to destroy them, it would be to no purpose for them to try to dissuade him from it, as they were helpless and liable to the same fate, on giving the least affront; indeed, anxious apprehensions disturbed them in their then circumstances.

"Mean time mortality raged to such an intolerable degree among the prisoners, that the very school boys in the streets knew the mental design of it in some measure; at least, they knew that they were starved to death. Some poor women contributed to their necessities, till their children were almost starved, and all persons of common understanding knew, that they were devoted to the cruelest and worst of deaths. It was also proposed by some, to make a written representation of the condition of the soldiery, and the officers to sign it, and that it should be couched in such terms, as though they were apprehensive that the General was imposed upon by his officers, in their daily re-

turns to him, of the state and condition of the prisoners; and that, therefore, the officers, moved with compassion, were constrained to communicate to him the facts relative to them, nothing doubting but that they would meet with a speedy redress; but this proposal was most generally negatived also, and for much the same reason offered in the other case; for it was conjectured that Gen. Howe's indignation would be moved against such officers as should attempt to whip him over his officers' backs; that he would discern that himself was really struck at, and not the officers who made the daily returns; and, therefore, self preservation deterred the officers from either petitioning or remonstrating to Gen. Howe, either verbally or in writing; as also the consideration that no valuable purpose to the distressed would be obtained.

"I made several rough drafts on the subject, one of which I exhibited to Cols. Magaw, Miles and Atlee, and they said that they would consider the matter; soon after I called on them, and some of the gentlemen informed me, that they had written to the General on the subject, and I concluded that the gentlemen thought it best that they should write without me, as there was such spirited aversion subsisting between the British and me.

"In the mean time a Col. Hussecker, of the

continental army, as he then reported, was taken prisoner, and brought to New York, who gave out that the country was almost universally submitting to the English King's authority, and that there would be little or no more opposition to Great Britain: This at first gave the officers a little shock, but in a few days recovered themselves; for this Col. Hussecker, being a German, was feasting with Gen. De Heister, his countryman, and from his conduct, they were apprehensive, that he was a knave; at least, he was esteemed so by most of the officers; it was, nevertheless, a day of trouble. The enemy blasphemed. Our little army was retreating in New Jersey, and our young men murdered by hundreds in New York: The army of Britain and Heshland prevailed for a little season, as though it was ordered by Heaven to shew, to the latest posterity, what the British would have done if they could, and what the general calamity must have been, in consequence of their conquering the country, and to excite every honest man to stand forth in the defence of liberty, and to establish the independency of the United States of America forever: But this scene of adverse fortune did not discourage a Washington: The illustrious American hero, remained immovable. In liberty's cause he took up his sword: This reflection, was his support and consolation in the day of his humiliation, when he

retreated before the enemy, through New-Jersey into Pennsylvania. Their triumph only roused his indignation ; and the important cause of his country, which lay near his heart, moved him to cross the Delaware again, and take ample satisfaction on his pursuers. No sooner had he circumvallated his haughty foes, and appeared in terrible array, but the host of Heshland fell. This taught America the intrinsic worth of perseverance, and the generous sons of freedom flew to the standard of their common safeguard and defence ; from which time the arm of American liberty hath prevailed.*

* The American army being greatly reduced by the loss of men taken prisoners, and by the departure of men whose enlistments had expired, Gen. Washington was obliged to retreat towards Philadelphia. Gen. Howe, exulting in his successes, pursued him, notwithstanding the weather was severely cold. To add to the disasters of the Americans, Gen. Lee was surprised and taken prisoner at Baskenridge. In this gloomy state of affairs, many persons joined the British cause, and took protections. But a small band of heroes checked the tide of British success. A division of Hessians had advanced to Trenton, where they reposed in security. Gen. Washington was on the opposite side of the Delaware, with about three thousand men, many of whom were without shoes or convenient clothing ; and the river was covered with floating ice. But the General knew the importance of striking some successful blow, to animate the expiring hopes of the country ; and on the night of

This surprise and capture of the Hessians enraged the enemy, who were still vastly more numerous than the continental troops: They, therefore, collected, and marched from Princeton, to attack Gen. Washington, who was then at Trenton, having previously left a detachment from their main body at Princeton, for the support of that place. This was a trying time for our worthy General, though in possession of a late most astonishing victory, was, by no means, able to withstand the collective force of the enemy; but his sagacity soon suggested a stratagem to effect that which, by force, to him was at that time impracticable: He therefore amused the enemy with a number of fires, and in the night made a forced march, undiscovered by them, and next morning, fell in with their rear guard at Princeton, and killed and took most of them prisoners. The main body too late perceived their rear was attacked, hurried back with all speed, but, to their mortification, found they were out-generalled, and baffled by Gen. Washington, who had retired with his little army towards Morristown, and was

December 25th, crossed the river, and fell on the enemy by surprise, and took the whole body, consisting of about nine hundred men. A few were killed, among whom was Colonel Rahl, the commander.

[*Webster's Elements.*

out of their power.* These repeated successes, one on the back of the other, chagrined the enemy prodigiously, and had an amazing operation in the scale of American politics, and undoubtedly was one of the corner stones, on which their fair structure of Independenc has been fabricated; for the country at no one time has ever been so much dispirited as just before the morning of this glorious success, which in part dispelled the

* On the 2d of January, 1777, Lord Cornwallis appeared near Trenton, with a strong body of troops. Skirmishing took place, and impeded the march of the British army, until the Americans had secured their artillery and baggage; when they retired to the southward of the creek, and repulsed the enemy in their attempt to pass the bridge. As Gen. Washington's force was not sufficient to meet the enemy, and his situation was critical, he determined, with the advice of a council of war, to attempt a stratagem. He gave orders for the troops to light fires in their camp, (which were intended to deceive the enemy) and he prepared to march. Accordingly at 12 o'clock at night the troops left the ground, and by a circuitous march eluded the vigilance of the enemy, and early in the morning appeared at Princeton. A smart action ensued, but the British troops gave way. A party took refuge in the college, a building with strong stone walls, but were forced to surrender. The enemy lost in killed, wounded and prisoners, about five hundred men. The Americans lost but few men; but among them, was a most valuable officer, General Mercer. [*Webster's Elements.*

gloomy clouds of oppression and slavery, which lay pending over America, big with the ruin of this and future generations, and enlightened and spirited her sons to redouble their blows on a merciless, and haughty, and, I may add, perfidious enemy.

"Farthermore, this success had a mighty effect on Gen. Howe and his council, and roused them to a sense of their own weakness, and convinced them that they were neither omniscient nor omnipotent. Their obduracy and death-designing malevolence, in some measure, abated or was suspended.—The prisoners, who were condemned to the most wretched, and cruelest of deaths, and who survived to this period, though most of them died before, were immediately ordered to be sent within Gen. Washington's lines for an exchange; and, in consequence of it, were taken out of their filthy and poisonous places of confinement, and sent out of New York to their friends in haste; several of them fell dead in the streets of New York, as they attempted to walk to the vessels in the harbor, for their intended embarkation. What numbers lived to reach the lines, I cannot ascertain, but, from concurrent representations which I have since received from numbers of people who lived in and adjacent to such parts of the country, where they were received from the enemy, I apprehend that most of them died in consequence of

the vile usage of the enemy. Some, who were eye-witnesses of that scene of mortality, more especially in that part which continued after the exchange took place, are of opinion, that it was partly in consequence of a slow poison; but this I refer to the doctors that attended them, who are certainly the best judges.

"Upon the best calculation I have been able to make, from personal knowledge, and the many evidences I have collected in support of the facts, I learn that, of the prisoners taken on Long Island, Fort Washington and some few others, at different times and places, about two thousand perished with hunger, cold and sickness, occasioned by the filth of their prisons, at New York, and a number more on their passage to the continental lines; most of the residue, who reached their friends, having received their death wound, could not be restored by the assistance of physicians and friends; but, like their brother prisoners, fell a sacrifice to the relentless and scientific barbarity of Britain. I took as much pains as my circumstances would admit of, to inform myself not only of matters of fact, but likewise of the very design and aims of Gen. Howe and his council: The latter of which I predicated on the former, and submit it to the candid public.

"And lastly, the aforesaid success of the American arms had a happy effect on the

continental officers, who were on parole at New York : A number of us assembled, but not in a public manner, and, with full bowls and glasses, drank Gen. Washington's health, and were not unmindful of Congress, and our worthy friends on the continent, and almost forgot that we were prisoners.

"A few days after this recreation, a British officer of rank and importance in their army, whose name I shall not mention in this narrative, for certain reasons, though I have mentioned it to some of my close friends and confidants, sent for me to his lodgings, and told me, "That faithfulness, though in a wrong cause, had, nevertheless, recommended me to Gen. Sir William Howe, who was minded to make me a Colonel of a regiment of new levies, alias tories, in the British service ; and proposed that I should go with him, and some other officers, to England, who would embark for that purpose, in a few days, and there be introduced to Lord G. Germaine, and probably to the King ; and, that previously, I should be clothed equal to such an introduction, and, instead of paper rags, be paid in hard guineas ; after this, should embark with Gen. Burgoyne, and assist in the reduction of the country, which infallibly would be conquered, and, when that should be done, I should have a large tract of land, either in the New Hampshire grants, or in Connecticut, it would make no odds, as

the country would be forfeited to the crown." I then replied, "That, if by faithfulness, I had recommended myself to Gen. Howe, I should be loth, by unfaithfulness, to lose the General's good opinion ; besides, that I viewed the offer of land to be similar to that which the devil offered Jesus Christ; "To give him all the kingdoms of the world, if he would fall down and worship him;" when, at the same time, that the d—d soul had not one foot of land upon earth." This closed the conversation, and the gentleman turned from me with an air of dislike, saying, I was a bigot; upon which I retired to my lodgings.

"Near the last of November, I was admitted to parole in New York, with many other American officers, and on the 22d day of January, 1777, was with them directed by the British commissary of prisoners, to be quartered on the westerly part of Lond Island, and our parole continued. During my imprisonment there, no occurrences worth observation happened. I obtained the means of living as well as I desired, which, in a great measure, repaired my constitution, which had been greatly injured by the severities of an inhuman captivity. I now began to feel myself composed, expecting either an exchange, or continuance in good and honorable treatment; but alas! my visionary expectations soon vanished. The news of the conquest of Ticonderoga, by General

Burgoyne,* and the advance of his army into the country, made the haughty Britains again to feel their importance, and with that, their insatiable thirst for cruelty.

"The private prisoners at New York, and some of the officers on parole, felt the severity of it. Burgoyne was their demi-god: To him they paid adoration: In him the tories placed their confidence, "and forgot the Lord, their God," and served Howe, Burgoyne and Knyphausen, "and became vile in their own imaginations, and their foolish hearts were darkened, professing" to be great politicians, and relying on foreign and merciless invaders, and with them seeking the ruin,

*In June, 1776, the British army amounting to seven thousand men, besides Indians and Canadians, commanded by Gen. Burgoyne, crossed the Lake and laid siege to Ticonderoga. In a short time, the enemy gained possession of Sugar Hill, which commanded the American lines, and Gen. St. Clair, with the advice of a council of war, ordered the posts to be abandoned. The retreat of the Americans was conducted under every possible disadvantage—part of their force embarked in batteaux and landed at Skenesborough—a part marched by the way of Castleton; but they were obliged to leave their heavy cannon, and on their march lost a great part of their baggage and stores, while their rear was harrassed by the British troops. An action took place between Col. Warner, with a body of Americans, and Gen. Frazer, in which the Americans were defeated, after a brave resistance, with the loss of a valuable officer, Col. Francis.

bloodshed and destruction of their country, "became fools," expecting with them to share a dividend in the confiscated estates of their neighbors and countrymen, who fought for the whole country, and the religion and liberties thereof:—"Therefore, God gave them over to strong delusions, to believe a lie, that they all might be damned."

"The 25th day of August, I was apprehended, and, under pretext of artful, mean, and pitiful pretences, that I had infringed on my parole, taken from a tavern, where there were more than a dozen officers present, and in the very place where those officers and myself were directed to be quartered, put under a strong guard, and taken to New York, where I expected to make my defence, before the commanding officer; but, contrary to my expectations, and without the least solid pretence of justice or a trial, was again encircled with a strong guard, with fixed bayonets, and conducted to the provost-gaol, in a lonely apartment, next above the dungeon, and was denied all manner of subsistence, either by purchase or allowance. The second day I offered a guinea for a meal of victuals, but was denied it; and the third day, I offered eight Spanish milled dollars for a like favor, but was denied; and, all I could get out of the sergeant's mouth, was, that by G—d, he would obey his orders. I now perceived myself to be again in substantial

trouble. In this condition, I formed an oblique acquaintance with a Capt. Travis, of Virginia, who was in the dungeon below me, through a little hole which was cut, with a penknife, through the floor of my apartment, which communicated with the dungeon; it was a small crevice, through which I could discern but a very small part of his face at once, when he applied it to the hole; but from the discovery of him in the situation which we were both then in, I could not have known him, which I found to be true, by an after acquaintance. I could, nevertheless, hold a conversation with him, and soon perceived him to be a gentleman of high spirits, who had a high sense of honor, and felt as big, as though he had been in a palace, and had treasures of wrath in store against the British. In fine, I was charmed with the spirit of the man; he had been near or quite four months in that dungeon, with murderers, thieves, and every species of criminals, and all for the sole crime of unshaken fidelity to his country; but his spirits were above dejection, and his mind unconquerable. I engaged to do him every service in my power, and in a few weeks afterwards, with the united petitions of the officers in the provost, procured his dismission from the dark mansion of fiends, to the apartments of his petitioners.

"And it came to pass on the third day, at

the going down of the sun, that I was presented with a piece of boiled pork, and some biscuit, which the sergeant gave me to understand, was my allowance, and I fed sweetly on the same; but I indulged my appetite by degrees, and, in a few days more, was taken from that apartment, and conducted to the next loft or story, where there were above twenty continental, and some militia officers, who had been taken, and imprisoned there, besides some private gentlemen, who had been dragged from their own homes to that filthy place, by tories. Several of every denomination mentioned, died there, some before, and others after I was put there.

"The history of the proceedings relative to the provost only, were I particular, would swell a volume larger than this whole narrative: I shall, therefore, only notice such of the occurrences which are most extraordinary.

"Capt. Vandyke bore, with an uncommon fortitude, near twenty months' confinement in this place, and in the mean time, was very serviceable to others who were confined with him. The allegation against him, as the cause of his confinement, was very extraordinary: He was accused of setting fire to the city of New York, at the time the west part of it was consumed, when it was a known fact, that he had been in the pro-

vost a week before the fire broke out; and, in like manner, frivolous, were the ostensible accusations against most of those who were there confined; the case of two militia officers excepted, who were taken in their attempting to escape from their parole; and probably, there may be some other instances which might justify such a confinement.

"Mr. William Miller, a committee man, from West Chester county, and state of New York, was taken from his bed in the dead of the night, by his tory neighbours, and was starved for three days and nights, in an apartment of the same gaol; add to this the denial of fire, and that in a cold season of the year, in which time he walked day and night to defend himself against the frost, and when he complained of such reprehensible conduct, the word *rebel* or *committee man* was deemed by the enemy a sufficient atonement for any inhumanity that they could invent or inflict. He was a man of good natural understanding, a close and sincere friend to the liberties of America, and endured fourteen months' cruel imprisonment, with that magnanimity of soul, which reflects honor on himself and country.

"Maj. Levi Wells and Capt. Ozias Bissell, were apprehended and taken under guard from their parole on Long Island, to the provost, on as fallacious pretences as the former, and were there continued till their ex-

change took place, which was near five months. Their fidelity and zealous attachment to their country's cause, which was more than commonly conspicuous was, undoubtedly, the real cause of their confinement.

"Major Brinton Payne, Capt. Flahaven, and Capt. Randolph, who had at different times distinguished themselves by their bravery, especially at the several actions, in which they were taken, were all the provocations they gave, for which they suffered about a year's confinement, each in the same filthy gaol.*

"A few weeks after my confinement, on the like fallacious and wicked pretences, was brought to the same place, from his parole, on Long Island, Major Otho Holland Williams, now a full Colonel in the continental army. In his character are united the gentleman, officer, soldier, and friend; he walked through the prison with an air of great disdain; said he, "Is this the treatment which gentlemen of the continental army are to expect from the rascally British, when in their power? Heaven forbid it!" He was continued there about five months, and then exchanged for a British Major.

* The sufferings of the prisoners in New York, who remained faithful to their country's cause, are stated, on other authorities, to have been severe and excessive.

"John Fell, Esq. now a member of Congress for the state of New Jersey, was taken from his own house, by a gang of infamous tories, and by order of a British General, was sent to the provost, where he was continued near one year. The stench of the gaol, which was very loathsome and unhealthy, occasioned a hoarseness of the lungs, which proved fatal to many who were there confined, and reduced this gentleman near to the point of death; he was indeed given over by his friends, who were about him, and he himself concluded he must die. I could not endure the thought that so worthy a friend to America, should have his life stolen from him in such a mean, base, and scandalous manner, and that his family and friends should be bereaved of so great and desirable a blessing, as his farther care, unefulness and example, might prove to them. I, therefore, wrote a letter to Gen. Robertson, who commanded in town, and being touched with the most sensible feelings of humanity, which dictated my pen to paint dying distress in such lively colours, that it wrought conviction even on the obduracy of a British General, and produced his order to remove the now honorable John Fell, out of a gaol, to private lodgings in town; in consequence of which, he slowly recovered his health.—There is so extraordinary a circumstance

which intervened concerning this letter, that it is worth noticing.

"Previous to sending it, I exhibited the same to the gentleman on whose behalf it was written, for his approbation, and he forbid me to send it in the most positive and explicit terms: his reason was, "That the enemy knew, by every morning's report, the condition of all the prisoners, mine in particular, as I have been gradually coming to my end for a considerable time, and they very well knew it, and likewise determined it should be accomplished, as they had served many others; that, to ask a favor, would give the merciless enemy occasion to triumph over me in my last moments, and, therefore, I will ask no favors from them, but resign myself to my supposed fate." But the letter I sent without his knowledge, and I confess I had but little expectations from it, yet could not be easy till I had sent it. It may be worth a remark, that this gentleman was an Englishman born, and from the beginning of the revolution, has invariably asserted, and maintained the cause of liberty.

"The British have made so extensive an improvement of the provost during the present revolution, till of late, that a very short definition will be sufficient for the dullest apprehensions. It may be with propriety called the British inquisition, and calculated to support their oppressive measures and de-

signs, by suppressing the spirit of liberty; as also a place to confine the criminals, and most infamous wretches of their own army, where many gentlemen of the American army, and citizens thereof, were promiscuously confined, with every species of criminals; but they divided into different apartments, and kept at as great a remove as circumstances permitted; but it was, nevertheless, at the option of a villainous sergeant, who had the charge of the provest, to take any gentleman from their room and put them into the dungeon, which was often the case: At two different times, I was taken down stairs for that purpose, by a file of soldiers, with fixed bayonets, and the sergeant brandishing his sword at the same time, and having been brought to the door of the dungeon, I there flattered the vanity of the sergeant, whose name was Keef, by which means I procured the surprising favor to return to my companions; but some of the high mettled young gentleman could not bear his insolence, and determined to keep at a distance, and neither please or displease the villain, but none could keep clear of his abuse; however, mild measures were the best; he did not hesitate to call us d—d rebels, and use us with the coarsest language. Captains Flahaven, Randolph, and Mercer, were the objects of his most flagrant and repeated abuses, who were many times taken to the dungeon, and there

continued at his pleasure. Capt. Flahaven took cold in the dungeon, and was in a declining state of health, but an exchange delivered him, and, in all probability, saved his life. It was very mortifying to bear with the insolence of such a vicious and ill bred imperious rascal. Remonstrances against him were preferred to the commander of the town, but no relief could be obtained; for his superiors were, undoubtedly, well pleased with his abusive conduct to the gentlemen, under the severities of his power; and remonstrating against his infernal conduct, only served to confirm him in authority; and for this reason, I never made any remonstrances on the subject, but only stroaked him, for I knew that he was but a cat's paw, in the hands of the British officers, and that, if he should use us well, he would immediately be put out of that trust, and a worse man appointed to succeed him; but there was no need of making any new appointment; for Cunningham, their provost marshal, and Keef, his deputy, were as great rascals as their army could boast of, except one Joshua Loring, an infamous tory, who was Commissary of prisoners; nor can any of these be supposed to be equally criminal with Gen. Sir William Howe and his associates, who prescribed and directed the murders and cruelties, which were by them perpetrated.—This Loring is a monster!—There is not his

like in human shape. He exhibits a smiling countenance, seems to wear a phiz of humanity, but has been instrumentally capable of the most consummate acts of wickedness, which were first projected by an abandoned British council, clothed with the authority of a Howe, murdering, premeditatedly, in cold blood, near or quite two thousand helpless prisoners, and that, in the most clandestine, mean and shameful manner, at New York.

"The 6th day of July, 1777, Gen. St. Clair, and the army under his command, evacuated Ticonderoga, and retreated with the main body through Hubbardton into Castleton, which was but six miles distance, when his rear guard, commanded by Col. Seth Warner, was attacked at Hubbardton, by a body of the enemy of about two thousand, commanded by Gen. Frazer. Warner's command consisted of his own and two other regiments, viz: Francis' and Hale's, and some scattering and enfeebled soldiers. His whole number, according to information, was near or quite one thousand; part of which were Green Mountain Boys; about seven hundred out of the whole, he brought into action.—The enemy advanced boldly, and the two bodies formed within about sixty yards of each other. Col. Warner having formed his own regiment and that of Col. Francis, did not wait for the enemy, but gave them a heavy fire from his whole line, and they returned

it with great bravery. It was, by this time, dangerous for those of both parties, who were not prepared for the world to come; but Col. Hale, being apprised of the danger, never brought his regiment to the charge, but left Warner and Francis to stand the blowing of it, and fled, but luckily fell in with an inconsiderable number of the enemy, and to his eternal shame, surrendered himself a prisoner.

"The conflict was very bloody. Col. Francis fell in the same, but Col. Warner, and the officers under his command, as also the soldiery, behaved with great resolution. The enemy broke, and gave way on the right and left, but formed again, and renewed the attack; in the mean time, the British grenadiers, in the centre of the enemy's line, maintained the ground, and finally carried it with the point of the bayonet, and Warner retreated with reluctance. Our loss was about thirty men, killed, and that of the enemy, amounting to three hundred, killed, including a Major Grant. The enemy's loss, I learnt from the confession of their own officers, when a prisoner with them. I heard them likewise complain, that the Green Mountain Boys took sight. The next movement of the enemy, of any material consequence, was their investing Bennington,* with a design to

* The Americans had collected a quantity of stores at Bennington; to destroy which, as well as

demolish it, and subject its Mountaineers, to which they had a great aversion, with one hundred and fifty chosen men, including tories, with the highest expectation of success, and having chosen an eminence of strong ground, fortified it with slight breast works, and two pieces of cannon ; but the government of the young state of Vermont, being previously jealous of such an attempt of the enemy, and in due time had procured a number of brave militia, from the government of New Hampshire, who, together with the militia of the north part of Berkshire county, and state of Massachusetts, and the Green Mountain Boys, constituted a body of resolute men, under the command of the intre-

to animate the royalists and intimidate the patriots, Gen. Burgoyne detached Col. Baum, with five hundred men and one hundred Indians. Col. Breyman was sent to reinforce him, but did not arrive in time. On the 16th of August, Gen. Stark, with about eight hundred brave militia men, attacked Col. Baum, in his entrenched camp, about six miles from Bennington, and killed or took prisoners, nearly the whole detachment. The next day Col. Breyman was attacked and defeated. In these actions, the Americans took about seven hundred prisoners, and these successes served to revive the spirits of the people. This success, however, was, in part, counterbalanced by the advantages gained on the Mohawk, by Col. St. Leger ; but this officer, attacking Fort Stanwix, was repelled, and obliged to abandon the attempt.

pid Gen. Stark, who, in number, were about equal to the enemy. Col. Herrick, who commanded the Green Mountain Rangers, and who was second in command, being thoroughly acquainted with the ground where the enemy had fortified, proposed to attack them in their works upon all parts, at the same time. This plan being adopted by the General and his council of war, the little militia brigade of undisciplined heroes, with their long brown firelocks, the best security of a free people, without either cannon or bayonets, was, on the 16th day of August, led on to the attack by their bold commanders, in the face of the enemy's dreadful fire, and to the astonishment of the world, and burlesque of discipline, carried every part of their lines in less than one quarter of an hour after the attack became general, took their cannon, killed and captured more than two thirds of their number, which immortalized Gen. Stark, and made Bennington famous to posterity.

"Among the enemy's slain was found Col. Baum, their commander, a Col. Pfester, who headed an infamous gang of tories, and a large part of his command; and among the prisoners was Major Meibome, their second in command, a number of British and Hessian officers, surgeons, &c., and more than one hundred of the aforementioned Pfester's command. The prisoners being collected

together, were sent to the meeting house in the town, by a strong guard, and Gen. Stark, not imagining any present danger, the militia scattered from him to rest and refresh themselves; in this situation he was on a sudden attacked by a reinforcement of one thousand and one hundred of the enemy, commanded by a Gov. Skene, with two field pieces:— They advanced in regular order, and kept up an incessant fire, especially from their field pieces, and the remaining militia retreating slowly before them, disputed the ground, inch by inch. The enemy were heard to halloo to them, saying, "stop Yankees." In the mean time, Col. Warner, with about one hundred and thirty men of his regiment, who were not in the first action, arrived and attacked the enemy with great fury, being determined to have ample revenge on account of the quarrel at Hubbardton, which brought them to a stand, and soon after, Gen Stark and Col. Herrick, brought on more of the scattered militia, and the action became general; and in a few minutes, the enemy were forced from their cannon, gave way on all parts, and fled; and the shouts of victory were, a second time, proclaimed in favor of the militia. The enemy's loss, in killed and and prisoners, in these two actions, amounted to more than one thousand and two hundred men, and our loss did not exceed fifty men. This was a bitter stroke to the enemy,

but their pride would not permit them to hesitate but that they could vanquish the country: and, as a specimen of their arrogancy, I shall insert Gen. Burgoyne's proclamation.

"*By John Burgoyne, Esq. Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's armies in America, Colonel of the Queen's regiment of light dragoons, Governor of Fort William in North Britain, one of the Representatives of the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament, and commanding an army and fleet employed on an expedition from Canada, &c. &c. &c.*

"The forces entrusted to my command are designed to act in concert, and upon a common principle, with the numerous armies and fleets which already display, in every quarter of America, the power, the justice, and, when properly sought, the mercy of the King.

"The cause, in which the British arms are thus exerted, applies to the most affecting interests of the human heart; and the military servants of the crown, at first called forth for the sole purpose of restoring the rights of the constitution, now combine with love of their country, and duty to their sovereign, the other extensive incitements which spring from a due sense of the general privileges of mankind. To the eyes and ears of the temperate part of the public, and to the breasts of suffering thousands in the provin-

ces, be the melancholy appeal, whether the present unnatural rebellion has not been made a foundation for the completest system of tyranny that ever God, in his displeasure, suffered for a time, to be exercised over a froward and stubborn generation.

"Arbitrary imprisonment, confiscation of property, persecution and torture, unprecedented in the inquisitions of the Romish church, are among the palpable enormities that verify the affirmative. These are inflicted by assemblies and communities, who dare to profess themselves friends to liberty, upon the most quiet subjects, without distinction of age or sex, for the sole crime, often for the sole suspicion, of having adhered in principle, to the government under which they were born, and to which, by every tie, divine and human, they owe allegiance. To consummate these shocking proceedings, the profanation of religion is added to the most profligate prostitution of common reason; the consciences of men are set at nought; and multitudes are compelled, not only to bear arms, but also to swear subjection to an usurpation they abhor.

"Animated by these considerations; at the head of troops in the full powers of health, discipline, and valor; determined to strike where necessary, and anxious to spare where possible, I, by these presents, invite and exhort all persons, in all places, where the pro-

gress of this army may point; and by the blessing of God, I will extend it far, to maintain such a conduct as may justify me in protecting their lands, habitations and families. The intention of this address is to hold forth security, not depredation to the country. To those whom spirit and principle may induce to partake of the glorious task of redeeming their countrymen from dungeons, and re-establishing the blessings of legal government, I offer encouragement and employment; and upon the first intelligence of their associations, I will find means to assist their undertakings. The domestic, the industrious, the infirm, and even the timid inhabitants, I am desirous to protect, provided they remain quietly at their houses; that they do not suffer their cattle to be removed, nor their corn or forage to be secreted or destroyed; that they do not break up their bridges or roads: nor by any other act, directly or indirectly, endeavour to obstruct the operations of the King's troops, or supply or assist those of the enemy. Every species of provisions brought to my camp, will be paid for, at an equitable rate, and in solid coin.

"In consciousness of christianity, my royal master's clemency, and the honor of soldiership, I have dwelt upon this invitation, and wished for more persuasive terms to give it impression: And let not people be led to disregard it, by considering their distance

from the immediate situation of my camp.—I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction, and they amount to thousands, to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain and America: I consider them the same wherever they may lurk.

"If, notwithstanding these endeavours, and sincere inclinations to effect them, the phrenzy of hostility should remain, I trust I shall stand acquitted in the eyes of God and men, in denouncing and executing the vengeance of the state against the wilful outcasts.—The messengers of justice and of wrath await them in the field; and devastation, famine, and every concomitant horror that a reluctant but indispensable prosecution of military duty must occasion, will bar the way to their return.

J. BURGOYNE.

"*By his Excellency the Lieutenant General,*
ROBT. KINGSTON, *Sec'y.*

"*Camp near Ticonderoga, 4th July*, 1777."

"Gen. Burgoyne was still the toast, and the severities towards the prisoners, were, in a great measure increased or diminished, in proportion to the expectation of conquest. His very ostentatious Proclamation was in the hand and mouth of most of the soldiery, especially the tories, and from it, their faith was raised to assurance.—I wish my countrymen in general could but have an idea of the assuming tyranny, and haughty, malevolent,

and insolent behavior of the enemy, at that time; and from thence discern the intolerable calamities which this country have extricated themselves from, by their public spiritedness and bravery.--The downfall of Gen. Burgoyne,* and surrender of his whole army, dashed the aspiring hopes and expectations of the enemy, and brought low the impious spirit of an opulent, puissant and haughty nation, and made the tories bite the ground with anguish, exalting the valor of the free born sons of America, and raised

* Gen. Burgoyne, after collecting his forces and stores, crossed the Hudson, with a view to penetrate to Albany. But the American army being reinforced daily, held him in check at Saratoga.—Gen. Gates now took the command, and was aided by Generals Lincoln and Arnold. On the 19th of September, the Americans attacked the British army, and with such bravery, that the enemy could boast of no advantage, and night put an end to the action. The loss of the enemy was about five hundred. Gen. Burgoyne was confined in a narrow pass—having the Hudson on one side, and impassable woods on the other—a body of Americans was in his rear—his boats he had ordered to be burnt, and he could not retreat—while an army of thirteen thousand men opposed him in front. On the 7th of October, the armies came to a second action, in which the British lost Gen. Frazer, with a great number of officers and men, and were driven within their lines. On the part of the Americans, the loss was not great, but Generals Lincoln and Arnold were wounded. *Webster's Elements.*

their fame and that of their brave commanders to the clouds, and immortalized General Gates, with laurels of eternal duration.--No sooner had the knowledge of this interesting and mighty event reached his most Christian Majesty,* who, in Europe, shines with a superior lustre in goodness, policy and arms, but the illustrious potentate, auspiciously influenced by Heaven to promote the reciprocal interest and happiness of the ancient kingdom of France, and the new and rising States of America, passed the great and decisive decree, that the United States of America, should be free and independent.—Vaunt no more, Old England! consider you are but an island! and that your power has been continued longer than the exercise of your humanity. Order your broken and vanquished battallions to retire from America, the scene of your cruelties. Go home and repent in dust and sackloth for your aggravated crimes. The cries of bereaved parents, widows and orphans, reach the Heavens, and you are abominated by every friend to America. Take your friends, the tories, with you, and be gone, and drink deep of the

* It appears, by this, that the Colonel, although a staunch whig, could, if occasion required, speak in commendation of crowned heads. It is to be considered, however, that the French King, by his kind measures in regard to our Revolutionary cause, had well merited this tribute to his worth.

cup of humiliation. Make peace with the Princes of the house of Bourbon; for you are in no condition to wage war with them. Your veteran soldiers are fallen in America, and your glory is departed. Be quiet and pay your debts, especially for the hire of the Hessians. There is no other way for you to get into credit again, but by reformation and plain honesty, which you have despised; for your power is by no means sufficient to support your vanity. I have had opportunity to see a great deal of it, and felt its severe effects, and learned lessons of wisdom and policy, when I were your heavy irons, and bore your bitter revilings and reproaches. I have something of a smattering of philosophy, and understand human nature in all its stages tolerably well; am thoroughly acquainted with your national crimes, and assure you, that they not only cry aloud for Heaven's vengeance, but excite mankind to rise up against you. Virtue, wisdom and policy are, in a national sense, always connected with power, or in other words, power is their offspring, and such power as is directed by virtue, wisdom and policy, never fails finally to destroy itself, as yours has done. It is so in the nature of things, and unfit that it should be otherwise; for if it was not so, vanity, injustice and oppression, might reign triumphant forever. I know you have individuals, who still retain their virtue, and, consequent-

ly, their honor and humanity. Those I really pity, as they must more or less suffer in the calamity, in which the nation is plunged headlong; but as a nation, I hate and despise you.

"My affections are Frenchified.—I glory in Louis the sixteenth, the generous and powerful ally of these States; am fond of a connection with so enterprising, learned, polite, courteous and commercial a nation, and am sure that I express the sentiments and feelings of all the friends to the present revolution. I begin to learn the French tongue, and recommend it to my countrymen, before Hebrew, Greek or Latin, (provided but one of them is to be attended to) for the trade and commerce of these States, in future, must inevitably shift its channel from England to France, Spain and Portugal; and, therefore, the statesman, politician and merchant, need be acquainted with their several languages, particularly the French, which is much in vogue, in most parts of Europe.—Nothing could have served so effectually to illuminate, polish and enrich these States, as the present revolution, as well as preserve their liberty. Mankind are naturally too national, even to a degree of bigotry; and commercial intercourse, with foreign nations, has a great and necessary tendency to improve mankind, and erase the superstition of the mind by acquainting them that human na-

ture, policy and interest, are the same, in all nations, and at the same time they are bartering commodities for the conveniences and happiness of each nation, they may reciprocally exchange such part of their customs and manners as may be beneficial, and learn to extend charity and good will to the whole world of mankind.—I was confined in the provost gaol at New York, the 26th day of August, and continued there to the 3d day of May, 1778, when I was taken out under guard, and conducted to a sloop in the harbour at New York, in which I was guarded to Staten Island, to Gen. Campbell's quarters, where I was admitted to eat and drink with the General, and several other of the British field officers, and treated for two days in a polite manner. As I was drinking wine with them one evening, I made an observation on my transition from the provost-criminals to the company of gentlemen; adding, that I was the same man still, and should give the British credit by him, (speaking to the General) for two days good usage.

"The next day Col. Archibald Campbell, who was exchanged for me, came to this place, conducted by Mr. Boudinot, the then American commissary of prisoners, and saluted me in a handsome manner, saying that he never was more glad to see any gentleman in his life; and I gave him to understand that I was equally glad to see him, and was

apprehensive that it was from the same motive. The gentleman present laughed at the fancy, and conjectured that sweet liberty was the foundation of our gladness; so we took a glass of wine together, and then I was accompanied by Gen. Campbell, Col. Campbell, Mr. Boudinot, and a number of British officers, to the boat, which was ready to sail to Elizabethtown Point. Mean while I entertained them with a rehearsal of the cruelties exercised towards our prisoners; and assured them that I should use my influence, that their prisoners should be treated in future in the same manner, as they should, in future, treat ours; that I thought it was right, in such extreme cases, that their example should be applied to their own prisoners; then exchanged the decent ceremonies of compliment, and parted. I sailed to the point aforesaid, and, in a transport of joy, landed on liberty ground, and, as I advanced into the country, received the acclamations of a grateful people.

"I soon fell into company with Col. Shelden, of the light horse, who in a polite and obliging manner accompanied me to headquarters, Valley Forge, where I was courteously received by Gen. Washington, with peculiar marks of approbation and esteem, and was introduced to most of the Generals, and many of the principal officers of the army, who treated me with respect, and after hav-

ing offered Gen. Washington my farther services, in behalf of my country, as soon as my health, which was very much impaired, would admit, and obtain his licence to return home, I took my leave of his Excellency, and set out from Valley Forge, with Gen. Gates and his suit for Fish Kill, where we arrived the latter end of May. In this tour, the General was pleased to treat me with the familiarity of a companion, and generosity of a lord, and to him I made known some striking circumstances which occurred in the course of my captivity.—I then bid farewell to my noble General, and the gentleman of his retinue, and set out for Bennington, the capital of the Green Mountain Boys, where I arrived the evening of the last day of May, to their great surprise; for I was, to them, as one rose from the dead, and now both their joy and mine was complete. Three cannon were fired that evening, and next morning, Col. Herrick gave orders, and fourteen more were discharged, welcoming me to Bennington, my usual place of abode; thirteen for the United States, and one for young Vermont."

Having completed the history of the events connected with the captivity of Col. Allen, we now resume our account of the Controversy between the settlers on the New Hamp-

shire Grants and the authorities of New York.

The inhabitants of the Grants, were, at the period of which we now speak, (1775) without any settled form of government or bond of union. Common interest had, thus far, kept them together, and given energy and unanimity to their proceedings. The partial relief experienced, however, at the commencement of the war, from the oppression of New York, served to convince them of the weakness of their political ties, and of the necessity of a better internal organization. Accordingly at the close of the year 1775, a number of influential individuals repaired to Philadelphia, where the American Congress was then in session, with the intent to procure the advice of that body, relative to the best policy to be pursued, under the existing circumstances of the case. No formal measures were adopted by Congress, in relation to the subject; but, upon the return of the gentlemen, a large number of circulars, setting forth the opinions of several influential members of Congress, in favor of a temporary association, under proper regulations, were distributed among the people.

In pursuance of these recommendations, a Convention of Delegates from the several towns, was assembled at Dorset, on the 16th of January, 1776 :—A petition was forwarded to Congress, in which a brief sketch of

the Controversy with New York was given, and their willingness avowed to bear their full proportion of the burden arising from the war. They, also, avowed their unwillingness to be considered, in any manner, subject to the authority or jurisdiction of New York. The Committee of Congress, to whom the petition was referred, reported that it be recommended to the petitioners to submit, for the present, to the Government of New York, and assist their countrymen in the contest with Great Britain; declaring that such submission ought not to prejudice their right to any land in controversy, or be construed to admit the jurisdiction of New York over the country, when the troubles should be ended. This petition, being considered unfavorable to the Grants, by the Agent who presented it to Congress, was withdrawn before it received the final action of that body.

On the 4th of July, following the presentation of the petition, Congress published to the world, our memorable Declaration of Independence. This placed the people of Vermont in a situation more difficult and embarrassing than they were before; and much speculation was afloat in regard to the course to be pursued. It was urged by some, that the settlers should immediately place themselves under the jurisdiction of New Hampshire—by others, that they should sub-

mit to the authority of New-York. The more resolute and influential, were, however, for assuming the powers of government, and hazarding the consequences. That the difficulty might be amicably settled, the people assembled in Convention at Dorset, on the 24th of July, 1776. An association was agreed upon for the defence of the country's liberties; and a resolution was adopted, that they would not associate with, or submit to, the provincial government of New York.—The Convention met again, by adjournment, on the 25th of September, and resolved unanimously, "to take suitable measures, as soon as may be, to declare the New Hampshire Grants a free and separate District." And, on the 15th of January following, at the third session of the Convention, it was declared, that "this Convention, whose members are duly chosen by the free voice of their constituents, in the several towns on the New Hampshire Grants, in our own names, and in behalf of our constituents, do hereby proclaim and publicly declare, that the district of territory comprehending, and usually known by the name and description of the New Hampshire Grants, of right ought to be, and is hereby declared ever after to be, a free and independent jurisdiction, or State: to be hereafter called, known and distinguished by the name of New Connecticut, or VERMONT." This declaration was unanimously

adopted by the Convention; and a petition forwarded to Congress, in which they announced that they had declared the territory, known as the New Hampshire Grants, a free and independent State; and closed by praying that they might be acknowledged by Congress, and that delegates, from Vermont, might be admitted to seats in that body.

These measures were variously regarded by the neighboring States. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, were willing that Vermont should become a member of the confederacy; but New York regarded the request as treason and rebellion to her authority. In this state of things, communications, emanating from two different Conventions of the people of New York, were addressed to Congress, in which the proceedings of Vermont were represented as resulting from the acts and instigations of designing men; and not from a desire of the inhabitants to renounce their allegiance to the authority of New York.

After the adoption of various measures, by both Vermont and New York, Congress, at last, took up the matter, and the communications of both parties were referred to a committee of the whole; which committee, among other things, resolved, "That Congress would not recommend or countenance any thing injurious to the rights and jurisdiction of the several communities herein

represented." "That the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants cannot be justified in their declaration of Independence, by the example of the United Colonies, nor by any act or resolution of Congress." "That the petition of Vermont, to be recognized as an Independent State, and to have her delegates admitted to seats in Congress, be dismissed."

While these important matters were transacting in Congress, the people of Vermont were engaged in forming a Constitution for the regulation of their civil government. A Convention, composed of the same delegates which declared the Independence of Vermont, met at Windsor, on the first Wednesday in June, and appointed a committee to make a draft of a State Constitution. A resolution was, also, adopted, recommending to each town to elect delegates to meet in Convention, at Windsor, on the second day of June, following, for the purpose of discussing and adopting said Constitution. The Convention met; and a Constitution, after a long and serious discussion, was read and adopted. It was, however, revised at a subsequent Convention, which met at Windsor; and the first election took place under it, on the first Tuesday of March, 1778.

The determination of Vermont to maintain her independence, at all hazards, evidently contributed to effect an alteration in the policy of New York: On the 23d of

February, 1778, Gov. Clinton issued a Proclamation, in which he confirmed the titles of the settlers to their lands, in certain cases, and made several concessions, in their favor; but the right of New York, to extend her jurisdiction over the Grants, was not relinquished: The people were commanded, "at *their peril* to yield obedience and allegiance" to New York, and, in all respects, to govern themselves as peaceable and quiet citizens. To this Proclamation, ETHAN ALLEN, ever on the alert to detect political cunning, and willing to expose it, published the following answer:

"This Proclamation," says Col. Allen, "after mentioning a disaffection of many persons, inhabiting the north east parts of the county of *Albany*, and certain parts of the counties of *Charlotte*, *Cumberland* and *Gloucester*, proceeds to affirm that these tracts of country were clearly included within the ancient, original, true, and lately established bounds of the state of *New York*.

That many, nay, almost the whole of the inhabitants in those counties, *alias*, the state of *Vermont*, are disaffected to the government of *New York*, will not be disputed. This is a fact. But it is not a fact, that the ancient, original, and true bounds of *New York*, included those lands. The first intimation that ever saluted the ears of the public, asserting this doctrine, was, from a Proclama-

tion of Gov. *Tryon*, dated the 11th day of *December*, 1771, which begins thus: "Whereas, it is the ancient and incontestible right of this colony, to extend to *Connecticut* river, as its eastern boundary." This assertion hath been answered, at large, in my treatise on the conduct of this government, towards the *New Hampshire* settlers; to which I refer the reader, and at present observe, that as the quoted assertions in these Proclamations, are wholly without foundation, they need only to be as positively denied as they are asserted. The fact is, that the tract of land, which now comprehends the state of *Vermont*, was, universally, known to be in the government of *New Hampshire*. Thus it was placed by all Geographers, in their maps, 'till the year 1764, when the now *English* King, for certain political reasons, which I shall mention, extended the jurisdiction of *New York* over the premises, by his special royal authority. At the time of the alteration of this jurisdiction, jealousies had fired the minds of King and Parliament against the growth and rising power of *America*, and at this time, they began to advance men and governments into power, with a political design to crush the liberties of *America*. *New York* had ever been their favorite government. They could almost vie with *Great Britain* in the art of vassalaging common people, and in erasing every idea of liberty.

from the human mind, by making and keeping them poor and servile. This, *Great Britain* well knew, and therefore fleeced a large territory from *New Hampshire*, and added it to *New York*, to depress the power of the one, and enlarge and extend the other. A well concerted plan: but the *green mountain boys* disconcerted it, by throwing their weight into the scale of Congress, which, thank God, has fairly preponderated. Thus may be seen the design, as well as date, of the original, ancient and true bounds of the state of *New York*, being extended over the state of *Vermont;* and for the same reason, it was thus extended by *Great Britain*, it will undoubtedly be curtailed by Congress.

As to the acts of outlawry, mentioned in the Proclamation, they died a natural death, the first day of *January*, 1776, as may be seen from the act itself, here quoted: "And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this act shall remain and continue in full force and effect, from the passing thereof, until the first day of *January*, which will be in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and seventy six."

The subjects of the state of *Vermont*, were under no apprehensions from these old lifeless acts. Nor do I conceive, that the present legislature of the state of *New York* have laid them under any obligation, in granting them a pardon. It was a matter which for-

merly respected Gov. *Tryon*, the old legislature of *New York*, and the *green mountain boys;* and the party last mentioned, choose to settle that old quarrel with Mr. *Tryon;* and resent it, that the legislature of the state of *New York* have so late in the day, undertook to give an "unconditional discharge and remission of all penalties and forfeitures incurred," under any act which had been long dead; and which, when alive, served only to discover to the world, the wickedness and depravity of that legislative body which enacted them. In the lifetime of this act, I was called by the *Yorkers*, an outlaw, and afterwards, by the *British*, was called a rebel; and I humbly conceive, that there was as much propriety in the one name as the other; and I verily believe, that the King's commissioners would now be as willing to pardon me for the sin of rebellion, provided I would, afterwards, be subject to *Britain*, as the legislature above mentioned, provided I would be subject to *New York;* and, I must confess, I had as lief be a subject to the one as the other; and, it is well known, I have had great experience in them both.

Next, I propose to consider that part of the Proclamation, called overtures, which are contained in the three first articles. Article 1st. "That all persons, actually possessing and improving lands, by title under grants from *New Hampshire* or *Massachusetts*

Bay, and not granted under *New York*, shall be confirmed in their respective possessions."

This article cannot be considered of any material consequence, inasmuch as, among almost the whole possessions referred to in the article, there are but very few, if any, but what are covered with *New York* grants.

The second article is as follows: "That all persons possessing and improving lands, not granted by either of the three governments, shall be confirmed in their respective possessions, together with such additional quantity of vacant land, lying contiguous to each respective possession, as may be necessary to form the same into a convenient farm, so as the quantity of land to be confirmed to each respective possession, shall not exceed three hundred acres."

Neither of these two first articles, called overtures, affect the controversy, except in some very few instances; inasmuch as all, or in a manner, all the possessions spoken of, were first granted by *New Hampshire*, except some few which were granted by *Massachusetts Bay;* and then, lastly, almost the whole of those possessions were re-granted by *New York*. This being the case, what has been hitherto proposed, does not reach the essence of the controversy, as the *New Yorkers* very well know; besides, it is not in the power of the government to confirm any of

those possessions, which have been already granted, and therefore become the property of the grantees, as will be more fully discussed in its proper place. I proceed to the third article of the much boasted overtures.

"That where lands have been heretofore granted by *New Hampshire* and *Massachusetts Bay,* or either of them, and actually possessed in consequence thereof, and being so possessed, were afterwards granted by *New York ;* such possession shall be confirmed,—the posterior grant under *New York*, notwithstanding."

Though it is absolutely out of the power of the said legislative authority, to confirm the possessions mentioned ; yet, to discover their want of generosity in their proposal, I shall, in the first place, consider what a trifling proportion of those possessions could be confirmed upon their own stating, inasmuch as the confirming clause in the article, only confirms the possessor, who being so possessed at the time that the *New York* grant was laid; and has no respect to any additional possession carried on after the grant took place. The identical words are, "And being so possessed, were afterwards granted by *New York ;*" *viz.* After such possession was actually made, and the possessor being so in possession, at the time the grant took place, such possession shall

be confirmed; but any later possession cannot be included in the condition of "being so possessed;" for, a later possession was no possession at all, at the time the condition of possession took place; and, consequently, every possession which has been begun in the state of *Vermont*, since the lands were granted by *New York*, must be lost to the possessor, and fall into the hands of the *New York* grantees, with all other uncultivated lands in the state; and all our purchases of those lands from *New Hampshire* and *Massachusetts Bay*, fall to the ground, together with our possessions, which have been increased an hundred fold.

These overtures have hitherto been considered only in a grammatical and logical sense, allowing them their own construction. I now proceed to consider them in a law sense. A legislative authority, within its own jurisdiction, may confirm a possession on vacant land, by making a grant of the same to the possessor. But, for the legislative authority of the state of *New York*, to pretend, as they do in their Proclamation, to vacate any grants made by their own authority, in favor of any possession, and to confirm such possessions, by nullifying and defeating their own grants, is the height of folly and stupidity: for, the lands being once granted, the property passeth to the grantee;

who is become the sole proprietor of the same; and he is as independent of that legislative authority, which granted it, as any person may be supposed to be, who purchaseth a farm of land of me by deed of conveyance: and it is as much out of the power of that legislature to vacate a grant made by them, or the same authority, in favor of any possessor, as it is out of my power to vacate my deed of conveyance in favor of some second person. It is contrary to common sense to suppose, that the property of the subject is at the arbitrary disposal of the legislature: if it was, they might give a grant to day, and vacate it to morrow, and so on, *ad infinitum*. This would destroy the very nature and existence of personal property, as the whole would depend on the sovereign will and last act of the legislature. But the truth of the matter is, the first conveyance will, and ought to hold good; and this defeats all subsequent conveyances.

From what has been said on this subject, it appears, that the overtures in the Proclamation set forth, are either romantic, or calculated to deceive woods people, who, in general, may not be supposed to understand law, or the power of a legislative authority.

I have further to evince my arguments on this subject, by the concurring opinion of the Lords of the Board of Trade, on complaint

made to them from those very persons, possessing the land we are speaking of. That clause of their report which is similar to what I have argued, is in these words:— "Such subsequent grants made by the government of *New York*, however unwarrantable, cannot be set aside by any authority from his Majesty, in case the grantees shall insist on their title."

Thus it appears, in a trial (of the same case we are treating of) before the board of trade, that the King, under whose authority the government of *New York* had, in an oppressive manner, granted those very lands, could not, by his royal authority, vacate or set aside the grants: yet, the present legislative authority of the state of *New York*, proclaim to the world, and pledge the faith of government, that they will do it. But enough has been said on the impossibility of it, as well as on the ungenerousness of the proposal: and as to the quit-rents, the general assembly of the state of *Vermont*, will determine their expediency, and probably release them all.

What has been observed, answers every part of the Proclamation worth notice, as the five last articles had an entire reference to the three first; though it may be worth observing, that the time of compliance with those overtures are run out; and it is my

opinion, that but few of the subjects of the state of *Vermont* have closed with them.—The main inducement I had in answering them, was, to draw a full and convincing proof from the same, that the shortest, best, and most eligible, I had almost said, the only possible, way of vacating those *New York* interfering grants, is, to maintain inviolable the supremacy of the legislative authority of the independent state of *Vermont*. This, at one stroke, overturns every *New York* scheme, which may be calculated for our ruin; makes us free men, confirms our property, "and puts it fairly in our power to help ourselves" to the enjoyment of the great blessings of a free, uncorrupted and virtuous civil government.

Bennington, August 9, 1778."

The declaration of their independence, by the people of Vermont, gave occasion to numerous new difficulties. No sooner had she organized a government, than the inhabitants of sixteen towns, bordering on Connecticut river, in New Hampshire, manifested a disposition to dissolve their connexion with that State, and unite with Vermont. In justification of the separation, it was contended "that all the lands, West of the Mason line, being royal grants, had been held in subjection to the government of New Hampshire, by force of the royal commissions,

which were vacated by the assumed independence of the American Colonies, and, therefore, the inhabitants of those grants had reverted to a state of nature," and were at liberty to form whatever political connexion they thought proper. In pursuance of this determination, they presented a petition to the Legislature of Vermont, on the 12th of March, 1778, praying for admission into its union. This application greatly embarrassed the Legislature : but, at its June session, it was voted that the union take place : thirty-seven being in the affirmative, and twelve in the negative.

The government of New Hampshire was justly incensed at these proceedings. Mr. Ware, President of the Council of that State, addressed a letter to Congress, on the 19th of August, to procure advice in relation to the subject : and on the 22d of August, in the name of the General Assembly, he wrote to Governor Chittenden, of Vermont, claiming the sixteen towns, as a part of New Hampshire. On the reception of this communication, Governor Chittenden convened the Council, and it was agreed that Colonel Ethan Allen should proceed to Philadelphia, and learn in what light the proceedings of Vermont were regarded by Congress. On his return, he made the following report :

"To his Excellency the Governor, the Honourable the Council, and to the Representatives of the freemen of the State of Vermont, in General Assembly met.*

GENTLEMEN,

The subscriber hereto, begs leave to make the following report, viz.

By the desire of his Excellency, and at the request of several of the members of the honourable the Council, to me made in September last, I have taken a journey to Philadelphia, in order to gain knowledge how the political situation of the State of Vermont stood, in the view of Congress; which I here exhibit.

On the 16th day of September last, I am informed by members of Congress, that the delegates from the State of New Hampshire exhibited to Congress, a remonstrance, (which they had, previously, received from the council and assembly of said state) against the proceedings of the state of Vermont, with respect to their taking into union a number of towns, on the east side of Connecticut river, and in their inviting other towns to revolt from New Hampshire; a copy of which I, herewith, exhibit: a matter which, they alledge, was incompatible with

* At this session of the Legislature, representatives from ten of the sixteen towns on the east side of Connecticut river, took their seats in the General Assembly.

the right of New Hampshire, and an infringement on the confederacy of the United States of America; and, therefore, desired the congress to take the matter under consideration, and grant some order thereon, to prevent the effusion of blood, and the confusion and disorders which would, otherwise, inevitably ensue.

The delegates from New York, at the same time, exhibited to congress sundry papers, containing allegations against the State of Vermont, which, after some altercations, were admitted; and it was agreed that the same, together with the remonstrance from the state of New Hampshire, should be taken under consideration, on the afternoon of the 18th, by a committee of the whole house: at which time it was moved to be brought forward, but urgent business occasioned its being deferred to the 19th; at which time I arrived at Philadelphia, and being, immediately, informed of the business by some of the members of congress, I used my influence against its being hastily determined *ex parte;* and particularly objected to the complaints from the States of New Hampshire and New York, their being both considered at the same time, alledging that they were of a very different nature. And, in consequence of this, together with my earnest request and application, I obtained assurance that the matter should not be brought to a decision,

before I could have an opportunity to lay the matter before this people ; as I had, previously, let the members of congress know, that the assembly of this state was to sit at this time ; and I engaged to transmit the proceedings of this assembly to congress, as soon as they transpired, at their request.

The allegations, thrown by New York, received a most severe shock on the perusal of my late pamphlet in answer to his Excellency Governor Clinton's proclamation, dated in February last, containing certain overtures to the inhabitants of this state ; as well as from my large treatise on the nature and merit of the New York claim, and their treatment to the inhabitants of this now State of Vermont. In fine, the New York complaints will never prove of sufficient force in congress, to prevent the establishment of this state. But, from what I have heard and seen of the disapprobation, at congress, of the union with sundry towns, east of Connecticut river, I am sufficiently authorised to offer it as my opinion, that, except this state recede from such union, immediately, the whole power of the confederacy of the United States of America will join to annihilate the State of Vermont, and to vindicate the right of New Hampshire, and to maintain, inviolate, the articles of confederation, which guarantee to each State, their privileges and immunities.

Thus, gentlemen, I have given you a short representation of the political situation of this State, as it now stands in the general congress of the United States of America, upon which I stake my honour.

Given under my hand, at Windsor, this 10th day of October, A. D. 1778.

ETHAN ALLEN."

The discussion of the question, relative to the union with the sixteen towns in New Hampshire, occupied the consideration of the Vermont Legislature, for several successive sessions; and on the 12th of February, 1779, it was voted that the union be dissolved. This determination was immediately communicated to the government of New Hampshire, by Ira Allen, and the Legislature of that State, encouraged by the concession of Vermont, and by the divisions existing in many of her frontier towns, now resolved to lay claim, not only to the sixteen towns, which had united with Vermont, but to the whole territory, as grants, originally made to that Province. Congress was applied to for a confirmation of this claim; and, at the same period, New York made a similar application to the same body. In this position of affairs, the State of Massachusetts interposed, and laid a claim to a portion of the territory, as within her jurisdiction: and thus was Vermont subjected, in order to maintain her independence, to struggle against the claims

of these adjoining States, without the countenance of the Continental Congress to her proceedings.

Vermont was still involved in the controversy with New York, during the troubles resulting from the union with a part of New Hampshire. The same spirit still prevailed with both parties, to sustain their own measures at all hazards. On the 7th of July, 1778, the Governor of New York wrote to his adherents in Vermont, recommending that wherever the friends of New York were sufficiently powerful, "firm resistance should be made to the draughting of men, the raising of taxes, and to all the acts of the 'ideal State of Vermont;' and that "associations be formed for mutual defence against this usurpation."

In conformity to the expressed wishes of Governor Clinton, a Convention of the friends of New York, met at Brattleborough, on the 4th of May, 1779. After organizing, a petition, to the Governor of New York, was drawn up, in which they stated that the "ideal State of Vermont" was proceeding to confiscate their property; and they, therefore, "entreated his Excellency to take immediate measures for protecting the legal subjects of that part of the State, and for convincing Congress of the impropriety of delaying a decision in a matter which so nearly concerned the peace, welfare and lives of so many of their firm adherents." A military as-

sociation was, also, formed about the same time, for the purpose of resisting the authority of Vermont.

In consequence of these proceedings, on the part of New York, the Governor of Vermont gave orders to Ethan Allen, to call out the militia. When informed of this movement, Col. Patterson, who held a commission in the county of Cumberland, under the New York authority, addressed a letter to Governor Clinton, for directions relative to the emergency of the case, and suggesting the propriety and necessity of receiving assistance from the military force of the county of Albany. In answer to this communication, the Governor gave assurances of protection; and recommended that "the authority of Vermont should not be acknowledged, except in the alternative of submission or inevitable ruin."

Governor Clinton, on the 18th of May, following, wrote to the President of Congress, in regard to the difficulties existing between the two States—declaring, "that matters were fast approaching a very serious crisis, which nothing but the immediate interposition of Congress, could possibly prevent:" that he "daily expected he should be obliged to order out a force for the defence of those who adhered to New York:" that the wisdom of Congress would suggest to them what would be the consequence of submitting the con-

troversy, especially at this juncture, to the decision of the sword ; but, that justice, the faith of government, the peace and safety of society, would not permit them to continue any longer, passive spectators of the violence committed on their fellow citizens."— This letter, together with several other documents, relating to the controversy, were laid before Congress, on the 29th of May, 1779, and referred to a committee of the whole. On the first day of June, Congress resolved that "a committee be appointed to repair to the inhabitants of a certain district, known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants, and enquire into the reasons why they refuse to continue citizens of the respective States, which have claimed jurisdiction over the said district : and that they take every prudent measure to promote an amicable settlement; and to prevent divisions and animosities, so prejudicial to the United States."

While the foregoing matters were engaging the attention of Congress, Col. Allen, marched with an armed force, and made prisoners of Col. Patterson, and others, acting under the New York authority. Complaint was immediately made to Governor Clinton, and a letter was addressed by him to Congress, wherein he stated what had taken place, disapproved of the before mentioned resolutions of Congress, and requested that the committee appointed to repair to the New

Hampshire Grants, might postpone their visit until after the ensuing session of the New York Legislature. On the 16th of June, it was resolved, by Congress, that the officers captured by Col. Allen, should be set at liberty; and that the committee referred to, be directed to inquire into the circumstances connected with the transaction. Two, only, of the committee, attended to the duty assigned them: and, owing to the excited state of public feeling, they failed to accomplish the object of their mission.

Several communications were forwarded to Congress, by the people of Vermont, in relation to their rights, which severally engaged the attention of that body; and the final consideration of them was postponed until the 2d Tuesday in September, 1780. Ira Allen and Stephen R. Bradley, were appointed Agents of Vermont, to attend to the subject, and see that she received her due share of justice. The matter was taken up by Congress, on the 19th of September—the Agents of Vermont being permitted to be present, but not as the Representatives of any State, or as the delegates of a body of people invested with legislative authority.—Efforts were made by both New Hampshire and New York, to prove their respective claims to the disputed territory; and it soon appeared evident to the Agents, that Vermont was not regarded as a party to the con-

troversy; but that Congress, in attempting to decide between New Hampshire and New York, did not recognize her existence as a distinct jurisdiction.

These proceedings were viewed with alarm and indignation by the Agents of Vermont; and an immediate withdrawal of their attendance was the consequence. On the 22d of September, they transmitted a Remonstrance to Congress, in which they "lament the necessity which obliges them to say, that they can no longer sit as idle spectators, without betraying the trust reposed in them, and doing violence to their own feelings, to see partial modes pursued, plans adopted, *ex parte* evidence exhibited, which derives all authority from the attestation of the party—passages in writings selected, giving a very false representation of facts, to answer no other end but to prejudice your honorable body against the State of Vermont; thereby to intrigue and baffle a brave and meritorious people out of their rights and liberties."—They further say, that they "are willing to agree upon some one or more of the Legislatures of the disinterested States, to interpose as mediators, and settle the dispute;" and conclude by observing, that if Congress continue the exercise of her unjust policy, they "stand ready to appeal to God and the world, who must be accountable for the awful consequences that must ensue." The sub-

ject of the controversy again occupied the attention of Congress, on the 27th of September; when the further consideration of it was postponed.

The policy of Congress, in postponing the decision of the controversy, did not receive the cordial acquiescence of Vermont. It shewed, it is true, that her claims to independence, were partially recognized; yet it had a direct tendency to protract the final adjustment of those claims. In this state of affairs, she resolved upon the policy of extending her territory, and thereby increasing her power, and placing herself in a more imposing attitude. She was not unaware, that a majority of the inhabitants in the Western part of New Hampshire, were still anxious to come within her jurisdiction; and to facilitate the accomplishment of this object, a Convention, composed of representatives from forty-three towns, assembled at Charlestown on the 16th of January, 1781: but the result was extremely mortifying: as it was found that a majority of the representatives were opposed to the proposed union. A committee, however, was appointed by the Convention, for the purpose of conferring with Vermont on the subject; and on the 10th of February, they informed the Legislature of Vermont, then in session at Windsor, that "the Convention of the New Hampshire towns, was desirous of being united

with Vermont, in one separate government, upon such principles as should be mutually thought the most equitable and beneficial to the State." On the report of the committee, to whom it had been referred, the Legislature resolved, that "in order to quiet the present disturbances on the two sides of Connecticut River, and the better to enable the inhabitants to defend their frontier, the Legislature of this State do lay a *jurisdictional claim* to all the lands East of the Connecticut River, North of Massachusetts, West of Mason's line, and South of latitude 45°: but that they will not, for the time being, exercise said jurisdiction."

A Convention of the towns, in New Hampshire, anxious for the proposed union, was, at this period, in session at Cornish, on the opposite side of the river; and communications in relation to the matter in agitation, were repeatedly exchanged between the committees of this body and the Legislature of Vermont. The articles of union were, finally, agreed upon—stipulating that the Vermont Constitution should be adopted by the towns in New Hampshire--that application should be made to Congress, for admission into the Union—that "full act of oblivion be passed, for former offences, by persons who professed themselves subjects of the State of New York," and that the Legislature should call on all the towns, in the State

of Vermont, and also on all the towns on the New Hampshire Grants, East of Connecticut River, relative to the projected union; and "that the votes of each town, should be returned to the Assembly, at their adjourned session, on the first Wednesday of April following: and, on condition that two-thirds of the towns, in the State of Vermont, at a legal town meeting, vote for the union, and, also, two-thirds of the towns on the New-Hampshire Grants, East of Connecticut River," then the union should take place, and the New Hampshire towns be at liberty to send representatives to the Legislature. At the session of the Legislature, in April following, it appeared that thirty-six towns were in favor of the union, and seven opposed to it. The union was, therefore consummated; and thirty-five Representatives accordingly took their seats from the towns on the East side of Connecticut River.

In consequence of the unjustifiable measures of New York, and the repeated solicitations from several towns, in that State, bordering on Vermont, to be received into union, the Legislature, on the 14th of February, 1781, laid jurisdictional claim to all the lands West of her present territory, and East of Hudson's River to the head thereof, and thence East of a North line, extending to the 45th degree of north latitude—providing, that this jurisdiction should not be ex-

ercised for the time being. On the 11th of April, however, the Legislature of Vermont appointed a committee to attend a Convention of delegates from the towns in New-York, desiring an union, and make the requisite arrangements for effecting it. The Convention met at Cambridge, on the 15th of May—the articles of union were agreed to, by both parties; and, on the 16th of June, following, they were confirmed by the Legislature of Vermont, and Representatives from these towns were admitted to seats in that body.

The people of Vermont having been driven, by the refusal of Congress, to recognize their claims to independence, and by the opposition they experienced on every quarter, to the necessity of maintaining their rights unaided, wisely determined to pursue that course of policy which would secure their safety and independence, against the encroachments of the British on the North, and the stratagems of their enemies in other sections. The British Generals, in America, had, for a long period, entertained the hope of turning the disputes between Vermont and the other States, to their own advantage, by detaching that section of territory from the American cause, and making it a British Province. The first intimation of this plan was communicated by Col. Beverly Robinson to Col. Ethan Allen, in a letter dated the 30th

of March, 1780. It was delivered to Col. Allen, by a British soldier, in disguise, in the streets of Arlington. Col. Robinson commenced his letter by hoping that his proposals would be received with the same good intention with which he made them: and proceeded to say, that he had often been informed that Col. Allen and most of the inhabitants of Vermont, were opposed to the wild and chimerical scheme of the Americans in attempting to separate from Great Britain, and to establish an independent government of their own; and that he would willingly assist in uniting America to Great Britain, and in restoring that happy constitution so wantonly and unadvisedly destroyed. "If I have been rightly informed," proceeds the writer, "and these should be your sentiments and inclinations, I beg that you will communicate to me, without reserve, whatever proposals you would wish to make to the commander-in-chief; and, I hereby promise, that I will faithfully lay them before him according to your directions; and I flatter myself I can do it to as good effect, as any person whatever. I can make no proposals to you until I know your sentiments; but think, upon your taking an active part, and embodying the inhabitants of Vermont, in favor of the crown of England, to act as the commander-in-chief shall direct, that you may obtain a separate government under

the King and Constitution of England, and the men, formed into regiments under such officers as you shall recommend, be on the same footing as all the provincial corps are. If you should think proper to send a friend of your own here, with proposals to the General, he shall be protected, and well treated, and allowed to return whenever he pleases." The contents of this letter were immediately communicated, by Col. Allen, to the Governor and other confidential persons, who unanimously agreed that it would be impolitic to return an answer.

On the 2d of February, 1781, Col. Robinson addressed a second letter to Col. Allen, inclosing a copy of the former one, in which he says—"The frequent accounts we have had, for three months past, from your part of the country, confirms me in the opinion I had, of your inclination to join the King's cause, and assist in restoring America to her former peaceable and happy constitution. This induces me to make another trial in sending this to you: especially, as I can write with more authority, and assure you that you may obtain the terms mentioned in the above letter, provided you and the people of Vermont take a decisive and active part with us."—To this communication, Col. Robinson requested an answer; and, also, that some method might be pointed out for carrying on a future correspondence.

No answer was returned to either of these letters by Col. Allen; but on the 9th of March, 1781, he inclosed them in a communication to Congress. In this letter, convinced of the integrity of his conduct, and the justice of the measures contended for by the people of Vermont, he observed—"I am confident that Congress will not dispute my sincere attachment to the cause of my country, though I do not hesitate to say, I am fully grounded in opinion, that Vermont has an indubitable right to agree on terms of a cessation of hostilities with Great Britain, provided the United States persist in rejecting her application for an union with them: for Vermont, of all people, would be the most miserable, were she obliged to defend the independence of the United (claiming) States, and they, at the same time, at full liberty to overturn and ruin the independence of Vermont. I am persuaded, when Congress consider the circumstances of this State, they will be more surprised that I have transmitted them the inclosed letters, than that I have kept them in custody so long; for I am as resolutely determined to defend the independence of Vermont, as Congress are that of the United States; and rather than fail, will retire with the hardy Green Mountain Boys, into the desolate caverns of the mountains, and wage war with human nature at large."

This negociation was continued between

Vermont and Canada, until the year 1782—having in its effects, not only served to protect the state from the ravages of the British troops, but also to lessen the difficulties attendant upon her admission into the Federal Union; and, to the firmness and patriotism of Col. Allen, in this difficult matter, may be attributed, in a great measure, the many advantages which resulted from it.

During the negociation with the British authorities, the primary cause of it was not forgotten or neglected by the people of Vermont. Their efforts were still continued to advance her internal interests, and procure an acknowledgement of her claim to an admission into the Union. In consequence of her unceasing efforts, to this effect, a committee of Congress, on the 20th of August, 1781, made a report, in relation to the subject, to that body: whereupon, the following resolution was adopted:

"*Resolved*, That it be an indispensable preliminary to the recognition of the independence of the people inhabiting the territory called Vermont, and their admission into the federal union, that they explicitly relinquish all demands of lands or jurisdiction on the east side of the west bank of the Connecticut River, and on the west side of a line, beginning at the north-west corner of the State of Massachusetts, thence running twenty miles east of Hudson's River, so far as the

said River runs north easterly in its general course; then by the west bounds of the townships granted by the late government of New Hampshire, to the River running from South Bay to Lake Champlain, thence along the said River to Lake Champlain, to the latitude of 45° north; excepting a neck of land between Missisque Bay and the waters of Lake Champlain."

Both the States of Vermont and New York were dissatisfied with this resolution—the one because it stipulated, as the condition of her admission into the confederacy, the dissolution of her unions with the adjoining States, and the other because it recognized the justness of a claim against which she had long and strenuously contended. The subject was taken up, by a committee of the Legislature of Vermont, on the 17th of October, 1781—when it was resolved as the "opinion of this committee, that the Legislature cannot comply with the resolution, without destroying the foundation of the present universal harmony and agreement that subsists in this State, and a violation of solemn compact entered into by articles of union and confederation."

The political condition of Vermont, was now in every respect, extremely alarming; and all parties trembled at the fearful approach of civil war, Fortunately, however, for the prosperity of those concerned, Gov.

Chittenden received a letter from General Washington, dated January 1, 1782, in which he remarked—"It is not my business, nor do I think it necessary, now to discuss the origin of the right of a number of inhabitants, to that tract of country, formerly distinguished by the name of the New Hampshire Grants, and now by that of Vermont. I will take it for granted, that their right was good, because Congress, by their resolve of the 7th of August, imply it; and by that of the 20th, are willing fully to confirm it, provided the new State is confined to certain described bounds. It appears, therefore, to me, that the dispute of boundary is the only one that exists; and, *that* being removed, all other difficulties would be removed also, and the matter terminate to the satisfaction of all parties. You have nothing to do but to withdraw your jurisdiction to the confines of your own limits, and obtain an acknowledgement of independence and sovereignty, under the resolve of the 20th of August, for so much territory as does not interfere with the ancient established bounds of New Hampshire, New York and Massachusetts. In my private opinion, while it behoves the delegates to do ample justice to a people, sufficiently respectable by their members, and entitled, by other claims, to be admitted into the confederation, it becomes them, also, to attend to the interests of their constituents, and see,

that under the appearance of justice to one, they do not materially injure the others. I am apt to think this is the prevailing opinion of Congress."

The advice of WASHINGTON had a powerful effect upon the minds of the people of Vermont. He was endeared to them by his many sacrifices in the cause of American Independence, and by the examples of his private virtues: At the next meeting of the Legislature, at Bennington, the communication was laid before them: and, on the 22d of February, it was resolved to comply with the preliminary requirement of the resolution of Congress, and relinquish all claims to the territory therein described, originally attached to other districts.

The determination of the Legislature of Vermont, on the 18th of October, heretofore referred to, had been communicated to Congress; and much warmth of feeling was exhibited upon the subject, in that body. It was resolved, among other things, "that, if Vermont did not, within one month from the time this resolution was communicated to Gov. Chittenden, comply with the resolution of the 20th of August, and relinquish her jurisdiction beyond the bounds therein named, such neglect and refusal would be regarded as an indication of hostility to the United States." Previous to the adoption of this resolution, the agents of Vermont arrived at

Philadelphia, when Congress were informed that the requirement, preliminary to the recognition of her independence, had been complied with by Vermont; and, that the *conditional* promise of such recognition, was, consequently, binding upon Congress. The subject, however, did not receive its due share of attention, and the agents, disappointed in their hopes, returned home.

The subject was again taken up by Congress, on the 5th of December; but instead of fulfilling their engagements to Vermont, made by the resolution of the 20th of August, 1781, their proceedings were characterized by bitter invective against the people of that State, for having exercised authority over certain individuals professing allegiance to New York, in violation of the resolutions of Congress, passed on the 24th of September, 1779, and on the 2d of June, 1780: and it was resolved, "that Vermont be required to make full restitution to the persons condemned to banishment, or confiscation of property, and that they be not molested on their return to said District." It was further resolved "that the United States will take effectual measures to enforce a compliance with the aforesaid resolution, in case the same shall be disobeyed by the people of the said District."

These measures completely weakened the faith of the people of Vermont in the wis-

dom and integrity of Congress, and, nearly destroyed their hopes of obtaining redress from that body. However, a spirited remonstrance, to the foregoing proceedings, was forwarded to Congress, by the Governor and Council of Vermont, in which the whole facts in the case were set forth, in a plain and unvarnished manner, and a request made, in conclusion, that Vermont might be admitted into the union. In consequence of this remonstrance, and other corresponding measures, Congress did not judge it politic to attempt to carry into effect her resolutions of the 5th of December.

In the southeastern section of the State of Vermont, at its first organization, were many individuals opposed to its independence, and, of course, friendly to the claims of New York. These persons eagerly embraced every opportunity to embarrass the State; and, on several occasions, openly resisted its authority. This opposition was principally confined to the town of Guilford—at that period, the most populous village in the State.—The two parties in this town, (the friends of Vermont and those of New York,) had each an organization of their own; and, in some cases, there were two sets of town officers. Between these, and their friends, frequent skirmishes occurred, which not unfrequently ended in bloodshed. The enmity of these parties was carried to an alarming extent

during the years 1783 and 1784. Social order was entirely at an end; and even Physicians were not allowed to pursue their avocations, without procuring a pass from the several committees. In this unpleasant state of affairs, Col. Ethan Allen, (at that period invested with the command of the military forces of Vermont,) was directed to call out the militia, for the purpose of enforcing the laws, and of suppressing the symptoms of civil war exhibited among the people of Windham county. In accordance with these directions, he marched from Bennington with a force of about one hundred Green Mountain Boys; and, upon his arrival at Guilford, he issued the following unique Proclamation: "*I, Ethan Allen, declare, that unless the people of Guilford, peaceably submit to the authority of Vermont, I will make the town as desolate as were the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah!*" The "Yorkers" were fired upon by Col. Allen and his men, and pursued; and all either taken prisoners or dispersed. Marshal law was established by Col. Allen; and, under it, a large proportion of the property, belonging to the tories and dissenters, was sold for the benefit of the State.

Very little alteration was effected in the government of Vermont for several years after the close of the war. After the adoption of the Federal Constitution, however, the policy and proceedings of Congress were

critically observed by the people of that State. Their measures being marked by wisdom and prudence, had the effect of gaining the confidence of the people, and of removing the aversion, which had been expressed on former occasions, of joining the Federal Union.

The former controversy with the State of New York, which had, already, produced so much difficulty, still remained unsettled. The authorities of that state were well aware that Vermont would now succeed in maintaining her independence; and, it is probably, the fact, that she entertained but little hostility to the measure. The former Governors of New York, had, however, made grants of extensive tracts of land in Vermont, the validity of which was not admitted by the government of Vermont. It was not conceived by New York, that she was under any particular obligations to refund the moneys received for these lands—they being the grants of the royal governors: A disposition was manifested, however, to compromise the matter, on just and amicable terms: and, in accordance with these views, at a session of her Legislature, on the 15th of July, 1789, an act was passed, appointing a certain number of commissioners to acknowledge the sovereignty of Vermont, and adjust all difficulties with that State. Commissioners were, also, appointed on the part

of Vermont, to treat with those of New York, and remove whatever obstructions existed to prevent her admission into the union.

On the 7th of October, 1790, "the commissioners for New York, by virtue of the powers to them granted for that purpose, declared the consent of the Legislature of New York, that the State of Vermont be admitted into the Union of the United States of America; and that, immediately upon such admission, all claims of jurisdiction of the State of New York, within the State of Vermont, shall cease; and thenceforth, the perpetual line between the State of New York and the State of Vermont, shall be as was then holden and possessed by Vermont;" that is, the West lines of the most Western towns which had been granted by New Hampshire, and the middle channel of Lake Champlain.—In regard to the lands granted under the Provincial government of New York, "the commissioners, by virtue of the powers to them granted, declare the will of the Legislature of New York, that if the Legislature of the State of Vermont should, on, or before, the first day of January, 1792, declare, that on, or before, the first day of June, 1794, the State of Vermont would pay the State of New York, the sum of thirty thousand dollars, that immediately from such declaration, by the Legislature of the State of Vermont, all rights and titles to lands

within the State of Vermont, under grants from the government of the colony of New York, or from the State of New York, should cease," excepting those, which had been made in confirmation of the grants of New Hampshire. This proposal was readily agreed to by Vermont; and, on the 28th of October, 1790, an act was passed directing the Treasurer of the State to pay the sum of thirty thousand dollars to the State of New York, at the proposed time. 'In this amicable manner,' says Dr. Williams, 'was terminated a controversy which had been carried on, with great animosity, for twenty-six years.'

The General Assembly of Vermont, commenced its session at Bennington, on the 10th of January, 1791; and, appointed Hon. Nath'l. Chipman, and Lewis R. Morris, Esq., Commissioners to attend Congress, and negociate the admission of the State into the union. They repaired to Philadelphia, and laid before the President of the United States the proceedings of the Convention and Legislature; and, on the 15th of February, 1791, Vermont was admitted into the Union, without debate, or a dissenting vote.

We have thus given the reader a concise view of all the principal events in which Col. Allen was concerned: and, it is truly gratifying to consider, that, in all the trying scenes of his life—in all the vicissitudes attendant upon

a protracted captivity—he was never forgetful of the rights of his fellow men, or the cause of liberty in which his country was engaged. We have seen him cast aside, as unworthy the principles which governed him, the proffered honors of the British crown to betray his allegiance to his country's cause. We have seen him adhering, with patriotic affection, to the interests of that country, even while her efforts were directed to crush the rising prospects of his adopted state. What individual, then, will deny him the tribute of gratitude, or withhold from his memory, that mysterious feeling of veneration which patriotism exacts from the friends of liberty?

Col. Allen was the author of several political and religious Works. The former were principally illustrative of the measures adopted by the people of the New Hampshire Grants, in relation to the position they assumed in the controversy with the New York authorities: and the latter were, probably, written more with a view to gratify a desire to occupy a space in the public mind, than for any other purpose. His religious sentiments, as promulgated in his writings, were nearly allied to Deism: Yet, it is quite probable, from the following anecdote, that his *real opinions* were based upon a different creed: A Dr. Elliot, who removed from Guilford, Conn., to Vermont, was well acquainted with Col. Allen, and made him a visit at a time when his daughter was very dangerously sick.

He was introduced into the Library; where the Colonel read to him some of his writings. While thus engaged, a messenger entered, and informed him that his daughter was dying, and desired to speak with him. He immediately went to her chamber, accompanied by Dr. Elliot, who was desirous of witnessing the interview. The wife of Col. Allen was a pious woman, and had faithfully instructed her daughter in the principles of christianity. As soon as her father appeared at her bed side, she said to him, "I am about to die: shall I believe in the principles you have taught me, or shall I believe in what my mother has taught me?" Col. Allen became extremely agitated: His chin quivered—his whole frame shook: and, after a lapse of a few minutes, he replied, "*Believe what your mother has taught you.*" It would appear, from this, that however much Col. Allen might have indulged in the exercise of his fancy, upon religious matters, he was still, in principle, attached to the beautiful and holy precepts inculcated by our Savior.

Col. Allen was brave, even to rashness: In support of this position, we submit to the reader the following adventure, related to us a short time since, by a gentleman remotely connected with him.—Soon after the Proclamation of the Provincial Governor of New York, was received by the people of Vermont, in which a reward of one hundred pounds was offered for the apprehension of Allen, much anxiety was felt, by his friends, for his safety,

on account of the many opportunities offered for arresting him. Allen, however, laughed at their fears; and offered a bet that he would proceed to Albany—alight at the most prominent house of entertainment—drink a bowl of punch, and, finally, escape unharmed. This was accepted: His necessary arrangements having been made, he proceeded to Albany, and, after alighting, called for a bowl of punch according to the terms of the bet. It was soon whispered around, however, that "Ethan Allen was in the city;" and, a large concourse of people collected about the house—among whom, was the Sheriff of Albany county. Allen, however, remained unmoved. Having finished his punch, he went to the door, mounted his horse, and, after giving a hearty "*huzza for Vermont!*" departed, unharmed, from the astonished and gaping multitude.

The following anecdote, derived from a source entitled to credit, exhibits good evidence of the singularity, as well as the firm resolution of Col. Allen: He was, for a short period, a resident of Tinmouth, Vt.; and was celebrated among his townsmen for acts of boldness, and a perfect contempt of every thing pertaining to cowardice, as he had been among the soldiery, in his previous military career. Being one day on a visit to a neighboring town, (Middletown,) he happened in at the house of a gentleman, who, though not a regular dentist, was, nevertheless, in the habit of extracting teeth. A woman came in,

suffering from the pain of a decayed tooth, but without sufficient courage to permit an extraction. She frequently approached the *fatal* seat, assigned for that purpose, and, as often retreated. Allen, in the mean time, a very uneasy spectator, could restrain his feelings no longer. "Here," said he to the Dentist, "take out one of my teeth." "They are all sound, General."* "Never mind—do as I direct you." A tooth was extracted. "Now take courage, madam, from the example I have given you," said Allen, to the trembling woman. Pride overcame her fears; and she was soon relieved from apprehension and pain.

An idea of the *honesty* and *love of veracity* of Col. Allen, may be obtained from the subjoined anecdote: A certain individual, to whom he was indebted, had commenced a suit against him: and a lawyer had been employed by him, to attend to it, and get the judgment postponed, if possible. As an easy method to effect this, the lawyer denied the signature of the note, knowing it would be almost impossible for the plaintiff to prove it genuine. Allen, who was present, could not submit to this *trick of the law.* Walking forward, through the crowd, he thus addressed the astonished lawyer. "Mr. —, I did not

* Col. Allen was, for a short period, the commander of the military forces of Vermont, with the rank of Brigadier General.

employ you to come here and *lie*—I employed you to tell the truth. The note is a true one—the signature is mine. All I ask of the court is, to grant me sufficient time to meet the payment." It is almost needless to add, that the plaintiff acceded to his wish.

In canvassing the various events, in the life of Col. Allen, we arrive at the irresistible conclusion, that he was a staunch friend to his country, a good citizen and an *honest man*. To the poor, his hand was ever open; and, in behalf of the oppressed, his energies were ever directed. In short, he was of that class of men, who freely offered up their *all* in defence of the liberties of this happy and flourishing government; and, as such, his deeds and his fame are associated with all our political and civil privileges and blessings.

The last years of his life were spent in Burlington, Vt., where he pursued the avocation of a farmer. He died, in that town, on the 12th of February, 1789, of apoplexy. A plain marble slab covers his remains, on which is the following inscription:

THE
CORPOREAL PART
OF
GEN. ETHAN ALLEN,
RESTS BENEATH THIS STONE
THE 12TH DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1789,
AGED 50 YEARS.
His spirit tried the mercies of his God,
In whom he believed, and strongly trusted.

ORIGINAL LETTERS.

TICONDEROGA, 20th of JULY, 1775.

Respectable Gentlemen—When I reflect on the unhappy controversy which hath many years subsisted between the Government of New York, and the settlers on the New Hampshire Grants; and, also, contemplate on the friendship and union that hath lately taken place between the Government and those of its former discontented subjects, in making a united resistance against Ministerial vengeance and slavery, I cannot but indulge fond hopes of reconciliation. To promote this salutary end, I shall contribute my influence; assuring your Honours, that your respectful treatment, not only to Mr. Warner and myself, but to the Green Mountain Boys in general, in forming them into a battallion, are, by them, duly regarded: and I will be responsible that they will retaliate this favour, by boldly hazarding their lives, if need be, in the common cause of America.

I hope no gentleman in the Congress will retain any preconceived prejudice against me; as, on my part, I shall not against any of them; but, as soon as opportunity may permit, and the public cause not suffer thereby, shall hold myself in readiness to settle all former difficulties and grievances, on honourable terms.

I am, Gentlemen, with the greatest respect, your devoted, most obedient, humble servant,

ETHAN ALLEN.

To the Hon. Provincial Congress, New York.

CROWNPOINT, 2d of JUNE, 1775.

Respectable Gentlemen—Before this time, you have, undoubtedly, received intelligence not only of the taking the fortified places on Lake Champlain, and also the armed sloop and boats therein, and the taking possession of a schooner which is the property of Maj. Skene, and armed and manned it, and of the conversion of them, with a large train of artillery, to the defence of the liberty and constitutional rights of America. You have, likewise, undoubtedly, been informed that the expedition was undertaken at the special encouragement

and request of a number of respectable gentlemen, in the colony of Connecticut. The pork forwarded to subsist the army, by your Honours' directions, evinces your approbation of the procedure, and, as it was a private expedition, and common fame reports that there are a number of overgrown tories in the Province, your Honours will the readier excuse me in not first taking your advice in the matter, lest the enterprizes might have been prevented by their treachery. It is here reported, that some of them have lately been savingly converted, and that others have lost their influence. If, in those achievements, there be any thing honourary, the subjects of your Government, viz: the New Hampshire settlers—are justly entitled to a large share, as they had a great majority of numbers of the soldiery, as well as the command in making those acquisitions; and, as your Honours justify and approve the same, I desire and expect your Honours already have, or soon will, lay before the Grand Continental Congress, the great disadvantage it must eventually be to the Colonies, to evacuate Lake Champlain, and give up to the enemies of our country, those invaluable acquisitions, the key of either Canada or of our country, according as which party holds the same in possession, and makes a proper improvement of it. The key is ours as yet; and, provided the Colonies would suddenly push an army of two or three thousand men into Canada, they might make a conquest of all that would oppose them in the extensive Province of Quebec, except reinforcements from England should prevent it. Such a diversion would weaken Gen. Gage, or insure us of Canada. I wish to God, America would, at this critical juncture, exert herself agreeable to the indignity offered her by a tyrannical ministry. She might rise, on eagles' wings, and mount up to glory, freedom and immortal honour, if she did know and exert her strength. Fame is now hovering over her head. A vast continent must now sink to slavery, poverty, horror and bondage, or rise to unconquerable freedom, immense wealth, inexpressible felicity and immortal fame. *I will lay my life on it, that with fifteen hundred men and a proper artillery, I will take Montreal;* provided, I could thus be

furnished : and, if an army could command the field, it would be no insuperable difficulty to take Quebec. This object should be pursued, though it should take ten thousand men to accomplish the end proposed, for England cannot spare but a certain number of her troops ; nay, she has but a small number that are disciplined, and it is as long as it is broad, the more that are sent to Quebec, the less they can send to Boston, or any other part of the continent, and there will be this unspeakable advantage in directing the war into Canada, that instead of turning the Canadians and Indians against us, (as is wrongly suggested by many,) it would unavoidably attain and connect them to our interest. Our friends in Canada can never help us, till we first help them, except in a passive or inactiue manner. There are, now, but about seven hundred regular troops in Canada. I have lately had sundry conferences with the Indians: they are very friendly. Capt. Abraham Nimham, a Stockbridge Indian, and Mr. Winthrop Hoit, who has sundry years lived with the Cachnewagas, in the capacity of a prisoner, and was made an adopted son to a motherly squaw of that tribe, have both been gone ten days to treat with the Indians as our embassadors of peace and friendship. I expect, in a few weeks, to hear from them. By them I sent a friendly letter to the Indians, which Mr. Hoit can explain to them in Indian. The thing that so unites the temper of the Indians to us, is our taking the sovereignty of Lake Champlain. They have not enough to make a good bargain, and stand by the strongest side ; much the same may be said of the Canadians. They have no personal controversy with us, but act on political principles. If we evacuate Lake Champlain, and retire to Lake George, Gov. Carlton can, by intrigue, and will not fail, to draw them into his interest. If we hold the supremacy, we shall do the same ; for cunning and power are but the same thing, be it exercised by either Carlton or us ; but cunning, without power, can hold no equal contest with that which is armed with it. It may be thought, that to push an army into Canada, would be too premature and imprudent ; if so, I propose to make a stand at the Isle aux Noix, which the French fortified by

entrenchment the last war, and greatly fatigued our army to take it. It is about fifteen miles this side of Saint Johns; and is an Island in the river, on which a small artillery placed, would command it. An establishment of a frontier so far North, would not only better secure our own frontier, but put it into our power to better work our policy with the Canadians and Indians; or, if need be, to make incursions into the territory of Canada, the same as they could into our country, provided they had the sovereignty of Lake Champlain, and had erected Head Quarters at, or near Skenesborough. Our only having it in our power to thus make incursions into Canada, might probably, be the very reason why it would be unnecessary so to do, even if the Canadians should prove more refractory than I think for. Lastly, with submission, I would propose to your Honours to raise a small regiment of Rangers, which I could easily do, and that mostly in the counties of Albany and Charlotte, provided your Honours should think it expedient to grant commissions, and thus regulate and put the same under pay. Probably your Honours may think this an impertinent proposal: It is, truly, the first favour I ever asked of the Government; and if it be granted, I shall be zealously ambitious to conduct for the best good of my country, and the honour of the Government.

I subscribe myself, Gentlemen, with due respect, your Honours' most obedient, humble servant,

ETHAN ALLEN.

Gentlemen, in the narrative contained in the enclosed, was too materially omitted, the valour and intrepidity of Col. James Easton, and forty six veteran soldiers from the Massachusetts Bay, who assisted in the taking Ticonderoga. Col. Easton is just returned from the Provincial Congress of the Massachusetts Bay, to this place, and expects he will soon have the command of a regiment from that Province. Yours, &c.

ETHAN ALLEN.

TICONDEROGA, the 4th of JUNE, 1775.

To our worthy and respectable friends and countrymen, the French People of Canada, *Greeting.*

Friends and fellow-countrymen:—You are, undoubt-

edly, more or less acquainted with the unnatural and unhappy controversy subsisting between Great Britain and her colonies, the particulars of which, in this letter, we do not expatiate upon, but refer your consideration to the justice and equitableness thereof, on the part of the colonies, to the former knowledge that you have had of this matter. We need only observe, that the inhabitants of the colonies view the controversy, on their part, to be justifiable in the sight of God and all unprejudiced and honest men that have, or may have, opportunity and ability to examine into the merits of it. Upon this principle, those inhabitants determine to vindicate their cause, and maintain their natural and constitutional rights and liberties, at the expence of their lives and fortunes ; but have not the least disposition to injure, molest, or any way deprive our fellow subjects, the Canadians, of their liberty or property ; nor have they any design to wage war against them : and, from all intimations tha the inhabitants of the said colonies have received from the Canadians, it has appeared that they were alike disposed for friendship and neutrality, and not at all disposed to take part with the King's troops in the present civil war, against the colonies. We were, nevertheless, surprised to hear that a number of about thirty Canadians attacked our reconnoitring party, consisting of four men—fired on them, and pursued them, and obliged them to return the fire. This is the account of the party which have since arrived at Head Quarters. We desire to know, of any gentleman Canadians, the facts of the case, as one story is good till another is told. Our general orders to the soldiery was that they should not, on pain of death, molest or kill any of your people, but, if it shall appear, upon examination, that our reconnoitring party commenced hostilities against your people, they shall suffer agreeable to the sentence of a Court Martial, for our special orders from the colonies are to befriend and protect you if need be, so that if you desire their friendship, you are invited to embrace it, for nothing can be more undesirable to your friends in the colonies, than a war with their fellow subjects, the Canadians, or with the Indians. You are very sensible that war

has already commenced between England and the colonies. Hostilities have already began. To fight the King's troops has become a necessary and incumbent duty. The colonies cannot avoid it, but pray is it necessary that the Canadians and the inhabitants of the English colonies should butcher one another? God forbid! there is no controversy subsisting between you and them.—Pray let old England and the colonies fight it out, and, you, Canadians, stand by and see what an arm of flesh can do! We are apprehensive that the conduct of your people before complained of, had not a general approbation; and are still confident that your country, as such, will not wage war with the colonies or approve the aforesaid hostile conduct of your people, as we conceive it to be impolitic, to the last degree, for the Canadians to enter into a bloody war without either a provocation or motive; and when at the same time, every motive of interest, virtue and honour, are ready at hand to dissuade you from it. In fine, we conclude Saint Luke, Capt McCoy, and other evil minded persons, whose interest and inclination it is, that the Canadians and the people of those colonies should cut one another's throats, have enveigled some of the baser sort of your people to attack our said reconnoitring party. We expect, gentlemen, as to these particulars, you will, in good time, inform us; and subscribe ourselves, Your real friends,

ETHAN ALLEN, } *At present, the principal commanders of the army.*
JAMES EASTON, }

A copy of the foregoing letter was, this day, sent to Mr. Walker, our trusty friend, at Montreal, per favour of Mr. Jeffere, whose fidelity is unquestionable, and it is wholly left with Mr. Walker to make its contents the most public that he possibly can, whether by printing it and translating it into French, &c. We, furthermore, thought it expedient your Honours should have a copy communicated to you. Yours, at command,

ETHAN ALLEN,
JAMES EASTON.

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